

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1923

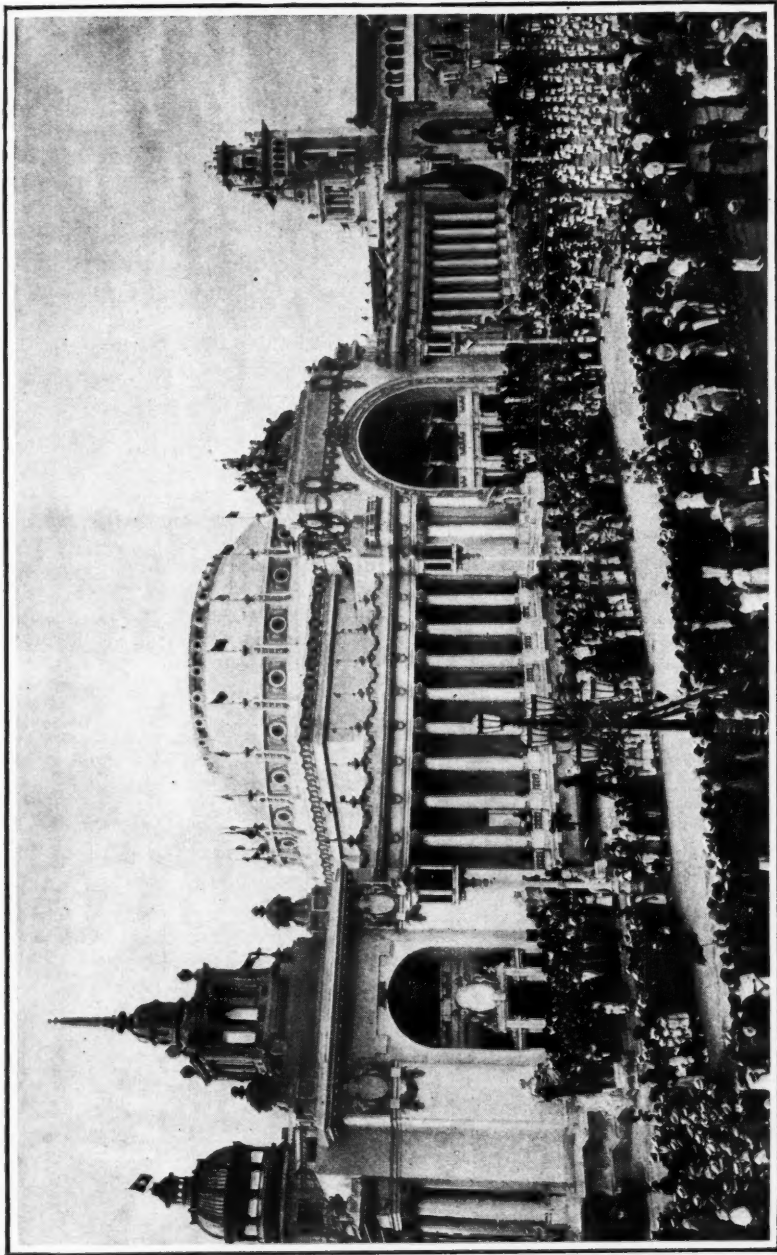
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"NEVADA DAY" AT BRAZIL'S CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

(The American Secretary of State had attended the formal ceremonies opening the exposition commemorating Brazil's centenary of independence, early in September; and when the cruiser *Maryland* brought Mr. Hughes back to the United States the *Nevada* remained in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro as a further indication of our interest. Wednesday, November 8, was set aside by the exposition management as "Nevada Day," and the sailors from the ship are shown here while passing a reviewing stand in front of Festival Palace)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1923

No. I

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Hope Deferred in a Dismal World

As we enter upon a New Year and try to compare conditions with those that prevailed at the opening of 1922, there are no bold contrasts that can be set forth in a few sentences. If one were alluding to world conditions in terms of weather, the skies were generally overcast a year ago, with mist and fog prevailing in some regions and storms more or less violent reported from one place and another. The fateful Year 1923 arrives with not less dubious weather, and finds dark clouds hovering over extensive portions of what was once known as the civilized world. The optimists can at least encourage one another by saying that—since bright skies will surely make their appearance some time—we must be exactly one year nearer a normal, prosperous, and happy world than we were a year ago.

Failure of Leadership

If, indeed, a new era in the story of human welfare were solely dependent upon the world's political and diplomatic leadership, the pessimists might well claim that the arguments were nearly all on their side. The European countries that took the principal parts on both sides in the Great War have not been led thus far by their Prime Ministers and their rulers into pleasant paths of mutual helpfulness. They have not stood firmly by the agreements they made in the settlements that were signed, sealed, and delivered in the summer of 1919 at Versailles. Nor have they been able to modify those agreements in any satisfactory way. Mr. Lloyd George, having undertaken the leading rôle at Paris had for almost three years and a half following the signing of the treaty been trying to have the treaty's terms modified. But

he has been repudiated by his own followers and is out of office. Mr. Bonar Law, the new Premier, who hoped that certain fundamental agreements might be reached in a conference of Premiers at London in December, found the differences between the British and French points of view so hard to reconcile that the conference was postponed until after the opening of the New Year, in order to avoid the serious consequences of a final break.

Mr. Simonds as an Interpreter

Our contributing editor, Mr. Frank H. Simonds, whose discussion of international affairs in our pages has continued not only to hold the confidence of our American readers, but to claim the attention of thoughtful and studious people in many other countries, presents in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS a thorough statement of the critical situations in Europe which have remained unsettled since the failure of the Genoa Conference, and which have been further aggravated by the utter collapse of Allied schemes and projects in the Near East and the triumphant and insolent return of the Turks to Europe. Mr. Simonds writes with independence of judgment and with entire courage. His studies of international affairs are continuous and uninterrupted, and his sources of information are exceptional in their directness and their variety. We do not for a moment believe that our readers would prefer a lighter or more casual presentation of international problems, and we are glad to assure them that Mr. Simonds will continue in the future as in the past to deal in our pages each month with world situations, stating the major facts and interpreting them with his unsurpassed lucidity.

*The
European
Situation*

Americans have learned that, whether or not our Government is participating directly in the conferences and negotiations of Europe, it is necessary for us to keep ourselves informed as well as possible concerning the course of affairs abroad. Mr. Simonds has always seen clearly the logic of the French position, which has insisted that France must either be given the firm assurance of protection against unprovoked attack in the future or else must have the acquiescence and good will of her former Allies and associates in the Great War in her plans for relying upon her own unaided military prowess to protect herself. The Russian Soviet rulers now claim that they control a disciplined army that is far greater and more powerful than any other in the world. The Turks are inflamed by their recent military successes, and are seemingly in close relations with the Moscow dictators. Germany, having lost what had been her previous markets and her commercial arrangements with the world at large, seems to be driven to the adoption of far-reaching plans for the economic rehabilitation of

Russia under German leadership. A military campaign of Turks and Russians, aided and abetted by the science of Germany, might bring on a major war in Europe that would be even more fearful in its sweep and its consequences than the war of 1914-18.

*Why France
Must Be
Sustained*

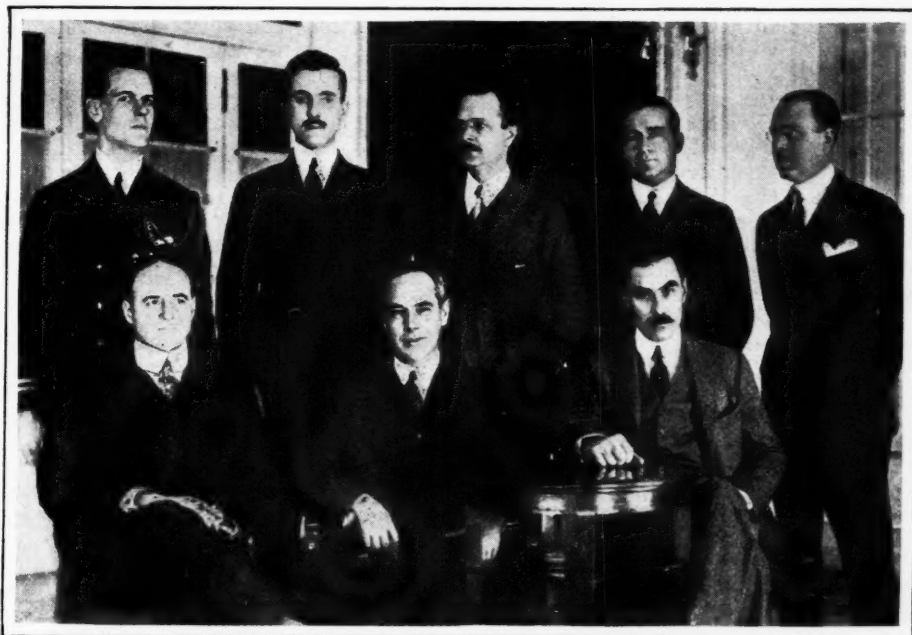
If France were crushed or humiliated by any such combination under German leadership, it is almost impossible to believe that England would not suffer disastrously in her turn. It is true that we in the United States can stand upon our own strength and our own resources, aided by our fortunate geographical position, and assured of the friendliness of our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. Yet we could not look on with indifference if Western Europe were thrown on the defensive by superior military combinations of the Central and Eastern powers. It would mean that militarism once more was attempting to dominate the world, whereas our sacrifices of 1917-18 were intended to crush militarism and to exalt law and justice to the seats of control in the affairs of mankind. England could not safely abandon France, and we in the United States could not abandon our principles without endangering our security.

*Objects
Not Yet
Accomplished*

A vast majority of the people of the world hate militarism, and would gladly accept a reign of law and of mutual good will if the better order of things could be safely established, and if it could be relied upon for essential justice. But on the other hand there are intense nationalistic rivalries and ambitions and bitter prejudices, there is profound distress, there is wide-spread fear. We expended enough military effort, and poured out enough of our money upon Europe during and after the war period, to have brought about these very reconstructions that the world in its present discouragement has almost ceased to hope for. Unfortunately, we plunged ahead with an almost frenzied exaltation of spirit, and there was nobody in official authority in the United States or in Europe who was wise enough or powerful enough to be taking care of the consequences. If we were relying upon statesmanship, we were leaning upon broken reeds. We were paying a tremendous price for something, and were trusting that after the price was



ISMET PASHA, THE HIGH TURKISH OFFICIAL WHO HEADS HIS COUNTRY'S DELEGATION IN THE CONFERENCE AT LAUSANNE



THE AMERICAN OBSERVERS AT THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE ON TURKEY IN THE NEAR EAST

(Seated, left to right, are: Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, who has represented us at Constantinople; Mr. Richard Washburn Child, Ambassador at Rome; and Joseph C. Grew, Minister to Switzerland. Lieutenant Wheeler and Messrs. Hock, Amory, Gillespie, and Belin are also members of the delegation)

paid we might begin to formulate the things we wanted by way of *quid pro quo*. Those who still suppose that the *quid pro quo* was expressed in the voluminous document called the Treaty of Versailles are few in number, and are hopelessly enveloped in illusions.

*We Have
A Continuing
Responsibility*

Four millions of armed men and thirty billions of dollars, thrown into the scales of a struggle between the two greatest aggregations of political and military force ever known in history, would have bought any kind of world order and harmony that the most idealistic could have desired. But this presupposes wisdom and foresight enough in the seats of the mighty to have made the definite bargain before the price was paid. The better acquainted with the innermost facts the thoughtful student of politics and history becomes, the more obvious will be the truth of these remarks. It does not follow, however, that because we went to war with no agreements whatever for achieving anything beyond a military victory, we are absolved from further responsibility. We would discredit every sacrifice that we had made, and we would

cast doubt upon our high motives and good intentions, if we attempted to resume precisely that pose of isolation to which we were accustomed in pre-war times. While we will not permit particular European prime ministers, or cabinets, or foreign newspaper writers, or visiting lecturers to instruct us in our duties and obligations, we will see realities from our own standpoint. We will observe that this world has become a jostling, over-crowded place in which nobody can be either safe or prosperous on the simple maxim of minding his own business and letting other people mind theirs.

*Our
Impartial
Attitude*

Older folks will remember a period when China, Korea, and even Japan were nations that were living practically in self-sufficient isolation. Such conditions have vanished never to return. And if the Far East can no longer live apart, certainly North America cannot exist in detachment. It is as much the business of citizens of the United States to be responsibly concerned about the world's affairs in general as it is the business of the people of any other country. We have the greater duty, because we can

be more useful at less sacrifice than can any other country. We might have been building up a vast empire during the past two or three generations; but, if we had done that, our world policies would have been so much affected by our outlying interests that we could not have taken a disinterested view. We should have been in the same position as certain other great governments, that have pretended to accept mandates in the Near East and elsewhere as trustees under the League of Nations, while actually using those mandates as a cloak for imperial aggrandizement and as an opportunity for commercial exploitation.

*Disasters
in the
Near East*

If we had proceeded upon definite and hard-headed plans when we went to war, we could have made certain of the reconstruction of Turkey for the benefit and advantage of everybody living in Turkish regions. We could have prevented that partitioning and aggression under cover of mandates that has provoked the Turkish Nationalist uprising. The imperialistic adventures of the Allies in the Near East since the armistice have cost them almost incredible aggregates in money and sacrifice, with nothing but harm and loss resulting. Instead of protecting and helping the subject Christian races of Turkey, the English, French, Italian and Greek Governments have brought the worst disasters upon those populations that have been faced in five centuries. Europe's adventures in Turkey,

Egypt, Persia, and adjacent regions since the peace treaties were signed in France three and a half years ago have cost several billions of dollars in public money, besides the still greater private losses and sacrifices, and the profound humiliation of Christendom. A great part of the billions of dollars loaned so indiscriminately to European powers by the United States after the war was ended, seems to have been expended in imperialistic adventures in various parts of the world.

*The Tradition
of Empire Not
Yet Broken*

Sums thus squandered by Europe, in provoking discord and retribution in the Near East, would have paid the interest on the American loans with the utmost ease, whereas that interest has been wrung from American taxpayers, with a continuance of war-time levies and severe pecuniary sacrifice. It would be mere idleness to reproach the peoples of Great Britain, or France, or Italy, or of unfortunate little Greece, for these costly mistakes made by their Governments. It is very hard to break the tradition of an obsolete and harmful imperialism. There is no such thing as foreign policy in the United States that is apart from the things that are popularly decided at the polls. But the structure of imperialism, as the rival European nations have created it, began several centuries ago; and, although that structure seemed at first to be going down to wreck and ruin in the Great War, the sequel

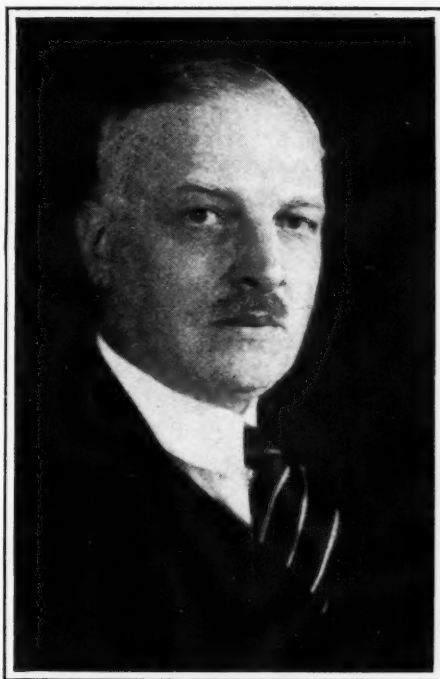


GREEK REFUGEES CROSSING THE MARITZA RIVER, WHICH SEPARATES EASTERN FROM WESTERN THRACE, THIS RIVER BEING REGARDED AT PRESENT AS LIMITING THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE TURKS

shows that it survives. It is true that reigning dynasties were overthrown in four great empires — Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Turkey. But it is by no means certain as yet that the Turks—returning to Europe with Europe's disgusting acquiescence—will not endeavor in due time to reestablish themselves in Egypt and across North Africa as well as in Arabia and perchance in Persia. There is no satisfactory evidence that Russia, under new leaders, is not aiming at the earliest opportunity to reestablish control over all of her former dominions. It is true that Germany's present position is difficult, but it would be hard to make any intelligent Frenchman believe that Germany will cease to be imperialistic at heart, for so long a time as what were once German colonies are in the control of other imperial governments which have taken them for imperial motives and are using them for commercial advantage. To put it in another way, what well informed person is there who believes that the Germans will be content to live on non-imperialistic principles in a world that tolerates imperialism in general? The Italian revolution which brings the Fascisti into power is distinctly imperialistic in its mental state, if not in any definitely expressed program for immediate fulfilment.

*America
Not Playing
for Empire*

If the American Government and people were imperialistic in their designs, we should not at this very time be withdrawing from San Domingo, after having straightened out the affairs of that disorderly region. Nor would we have withdrawn so scrupulously from Cuba after having had many plausible excuses for a definite protectorate if not for full annexation. If we had been imperialistic, we should have found ways long ago to have acquired what is now the Canadian Northwest, and we should have brought a certain strip of Northern Mexico under our control. As a matter of fact, we have every desire to see transcontinental Canada succeed as a friendly neighbor, sharing North America with ourselves. We could probably give better government to northern Mexico than will ever emanate from a capital that is a thousand miles south of the Rio Grande. But as a matter of fact, Mexico is in no more danger from aggression on the part of her powerful northern neighbor than she is to-day from that forgotten menace of European reconquest which was supported



DR. CARL CUNO, GERMANY'S NEW
CHANCELLOR

(Walter Rathenau, who was assassinated by monarchist agents, was the ablest and wisest leader of the new Republican Germany. Since his death, President Ebert and the country have been looking for another leader of real power. Dr. Cuno, who succeeded to the post of Chancellor upon the downfall of the Wirth ministry, has been head of the Hamburg-American Line since the death of Albert Ballin four or five years ago. He is forty-six years old, and if he were in America would take high rank with the leaders of big business. Dr. Cuno visited this country in 1920, 1921, and again in the summer of 1922, working out the agreement between the Hamburg-American Line and the so-called Harriman interests. He is well known at Washington. He has learned to speak English well in the last two years. Dr. Cuno is a man of force, but it remains to be seen what he can accomplish in the impending crisis)

by the Holy Alliance, leading as it did to our proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine just one hundred years ago. Everybody who understands the facts knows that we are not playing a game of empire in the Philippines.

*Historic Meaning
of the Wash-
ington Conference*

We were not unaware of our inherent power, and we were actually well along with a program that would have given us the most formidable navy in the world. Yet Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes assembled the Washington Conference to deal with affairs of the Pacific and the Far East, and on our own initiative we abandoned the plans that would have given us naval leadership, and we secured the adoption of a set of treaties

which proved definitely that we had no imperialistic designs whatsoever in any part of the world. If we are remaining for a while longer in the Philippines, it is because we have done so much for the people of those islands that we have a right to make certain decisions. It is not for a group of ambitious Filipino politicians of comparatively small experience in the art of governing, and of no experience in diplomacy, to decide at what time and in what way there should be withdrawal of the benevolent oversight of the United States. Even the Filipino leaders themselves may not be wholly aware of influences that are at work behind the scenes for the removal of the American flag from Manila, and for the lessening of American influence in what was called at the Washington Conference "the regions of the Pacific." We serve many varied interests, above all we promote the welfare of the Filipinos themselves, by remaining in control of the general position of the Philippine Archipelago.

*The
French
West Indies*

Certainly, then, in view of obvious facts, the United States could have no possible desire to supersede the people of France in their continued relations to certain islands in the West Indies. Guadeloupe, Martinique and the other islands are directly represented in the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies at Paris. A few weeks ago a Senator from those islands proclaimed from the floor of the French Senate the passionate devotion of Martinique and the sister islands to France, and hurled defiance, so to speak, at the United States for seeking to take over the French links in the chain of the Lesser Antilles, as a part of the settlement of the French debt. Certain Parisian newspapers, in like manner, expressed themselves with acerbity. Of course all well-informed French leaders, and such men of knowledge and experience as Ambassador Jusserand, are fully aware that Uncle Sam does not covet anything that belongs to France. When we bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark several years ago, and paid an extravagant price for them, it was simply because Germany—then at the very climax of her imperialistic pretensions—would otherwise have put pressure on Denmark to sell them in order that Germany might create a Heligoland fortress and a naval rendezvous near the approaches of the Panama Canal.

*American
Views of
the Future*

There is not a vestige of ill feeling in the United States towards the colonial system of Great Britain, nor towards the efforts of France to civilize and develop the great areas under French control in Africa and elsewhere. But it becomes evident enough that there is to be an evolution away from the older forms of imperial control, and that the governments of liberal countries like those of France and England must reckon carefully with the new spirit, in order to avoid conflicts while at the same time protecting in so far as they can the improved conditions that they have been able to bring about in their respective colonial domains. The Washington Conference was by far the best attempt that has been made in the present century to face squarely the dangers that lie in competitive armaments, and to arrive at constructive agreements in order to avert future trouble in certain definite directions. With the sinking of the German fleet, it was necessary to reconstruct maritime international law and to provide against the danger of new naval rivalries.

*Our Navy and
the General
Welfare*

The Washington treaty fixing naval ratios was chiefly important for the principles that obtained acceptance. If the United States holds its firm moral leadership, as regards the issues that were dealt with in the Washington Conference, we shall have gone a long way toward resuming the place that we had lost in the councils of the nations. Having proposed a certain maximum naval



UNCLE SAM AS DISINTERESTED OBSERVER AT LAUSANNE

From the South Wales News (Cardiff, Wales)

[Uncle Sam is represented as particularly interested in what Europe finds in the book entitled "How to Pour Oil on Troubled Waters." The cartoon relates to Mr. Child's speech, which is regarded in Europe as claiming an equal interest for the United States in Mosul oil fields.]

strength for ourselves that the rest of the world accepted as proper, we should now make a serious mistake if for reasons of economy we should cut, considerably below the scrapping line that was fixed. We are publishing an article this month by Mr. William Howard Gardiner, who holds strongly to the view that our navy must be maintained in its efficiency both for our own security and also for our duty in respect to the maintenance of peace and order. Meanwhile, we have been using our influence to help in the adjustment of all outstanding difficulties in the Western Hemisphere. It is enough to mention the arbitration of the territorial differences between Chile and Peru; the pending negotiations at Washington for harmonizing interests in Central America; the successful development of our policies throughout the West Indies; the final adjustment of differences between ourselves and the Republic of Colombia, and the gradual though difficult course of improvement in our relations with Mexico.

Our
"Observers"
at Lausanne

It has been hard to see exactly how we could aid in the pending settlements between Europe and Turkey. But we could at least take the lead in measures of emergency relief for hundreds of thousands of refugees, and we have been doing this through the associated efforts of the Red Cross, the Near East Relief, and other agencies, all acting under the auspices of our Government itself. In the Lausanne Conference, where Turks and Europeans have been trying to reach definite agreements, we have had present as official observers Admiral Bristol from Constantinople, our Ambassador Richard Washburn Child, from Rome, and our Minister to Switzerland, Mr. Joseph C. Grew. Mr. Child has been exceedingly direct and straightforward in asserting what we call "open door" principles. The tendency of the European Governments is never to bargain for things that are right in themselves and that are of general application, but always to assume that agreements are for their own particular benefit and not for the nations at large. We have no special reason for insisting upon the right to navigate the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus with warships; yet we insist upon the principle of free and open waterways because it is the sound maxim that can be applied without exclusiveness.



COLONEL GONATAS, WHO IS PRIME MINISTER
IN THE NEW GREEK CABINET

(The victory of the Turks over the Greeks produced violent disturbances in Greek politics. King Constantine was overthrown, and his son George was placed on the throne. Colonel Gonatas, who is pictured above, led the revolutionary movement and is the chief figure in the new cabinet)

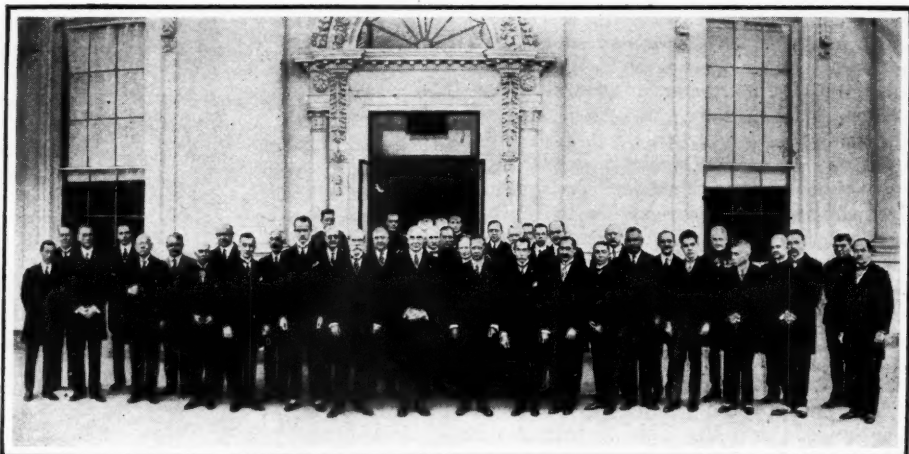
Nor is it in the least true that the American representatives are fighting on selfish principles for any particular American oil companies' interests in the Near East when they protest against exclusive concessions. We have allowed every country on earth to invest freely in the oil properties of the United States, and to export oil products without restriction. We are serving the best interests of the whole world when we deny the right of European Governments to grab oil concessions and franchises in Oriental countries, under the screen of mandates or on any other pretext. And we promote the best interests of all countries when we speak strongly, as at Lausanne, for essential principles.

Practical
Value of
Wise Politics

The Washington Conference in its results illustrated the fact that it pays in dollars and cents to work out just agreements. The powers that took part in that conference are already saving several hundred million

ER AT

in what
troubled
which is
the United



PRESIDENT HARDING, SECRETARY HUGHES, AND THE DELEGATIONS FROM THE CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES

(In the Pan-American Building at Washington, under the leadership of Secretary Hughes, a conference to promote Central American harmony has been making hopeful progress)

dollars a year in the aggregate, because they can afford to reduce naval outlays and to cut down some other expenditures. A harmonious Western Hemisphere, aided by the wise councils of our State Department and encouraged by just and generous attitudes at Washington, can keep down military expenses to so low a point as to be the better able to use current resources in commercial pursuits, to the great advantage of the people of the United States. Our Shipping Board, with the Administration behind it, is trying very hard to find cargoes for the merchant fleet that we built so expensively in the war-time with the altruistic object of aiding Europe. One of the best ways to occupy a considerable part of that fleet is to keep American influence of every kind active and energetic in the development of the Western Hemisphere. While we promote confidence and good will, and further build up friendship between North and South America as we enter upon the second century of the Monroe Doctrine, we shall be able to increase our trade very materially.

*Pan-
American
Commerce*

Already our policies have enormously developed Cuba as a purchaser of American wares in return for our purchases of Cuban sugar and other products. Brazil's trade with us, already large, has an almost indefinite capacity for expansion. No matter what the restless opponents of alcoholic prohi-

bition are saying, we are as a nation opposed to the unrestricted consumption of alcohol as a beverage. Our actual national drink is not whisky but coffee; and, since civilized peoples live under somewhat artificial conditions and are likely to adopt something more enlivening than cold water as a beverage, there can be no serious objection to the universal American use of coffee and the universal British use of tea. We will never produce coffee in the United States, and Brazil must have a great and permanent market here for that commodity, besides furnishing us with increasing quantities of other desirable products. We ought so to shape our commercial policies toward the South American countries, along the lines which Secretary Blaine advocated so brilliantly in his time, as to make it reciprocally advantageous for the Western Hemisphere countries to trade with one another.

*Canada Our
Best Business
Partner*

The present authorities of Canada, able and far-seeing as they are, realize that the people of the Dominion are living in North America and not in Europe; and that their interests are just as truly identical with the progress and safety of America as are those of Minnesota, or Ohio, or New York. Nothing could be more narrow or short-sighted than for certain local agricultural interests in the United States to oppose a broad commercial reciprocity with Can-

ada. In the long run it will not hurt American wheat growers or dairy farmers to open our markets to the farmers of Canada; nor will Canadian capital be disadvantaged if there should be a far greater freedom from tariff barriers for the products of factories. The United States and Canada should regard themselves as partners rather than as competitors in the economic development of our continent. If it is advantageous for our forty-eight States to carry on among themselves the greatest free-trade commerce in the world, and if it is beneficial for the Canadian Provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific to deal freely with one another, it must in similar fashion be desirable to demolish the artificial barrier to trade freedom that now separates Canada and the United States.

*We Will Profit
by Europe's
Recovery*

When European readjustment comes—and we agree fully with the optimists that in spite of present troubles the better times are coming—Europe will look to the United States for its bread and its meat, to a rapidly diminishing extent. There will have to be some shifting of populations; but Europe is capable of supplying its several hundred million people with all the principal necessities of life. Yet there ought always to be a very considerable trans-Atlantic trade in many commodities. The sooner Europe adjusts the present financial tangle, reduces militarism, abolishes inflated currencies, and settles down to normal life, the better it will be for the United States from every point of view. We can afford to use our influence to the utmost for the promotion of European recovery. Moreover, we cannot afford from any standpoint to neglect any reasonable opportunity to aid the European nations in adjusting their differences and entering upon the paths of peace. It is against American public opinion to be bound by treaties to render military service to other countries under circumstances over which we have no control. But it is necessary for us to remember that Europe and the world to-day are in a sorry plight by reason of a great war in which we took a determining part.

*What
Clemenceau
Asked For*

Many millions of Americans collectively were strong enough—thanks to no political leadership—to bring the war to a point where the armistice terms were accepted. But no



PALMISTRY, OR THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE REVEALED

[Apropos of M. Clemenceau's visit to the United States]
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

American influence was definite enough to convert a successful war into a successful peace. And yet our real object as a nation was as Mr. Wilson said to "make the world safe for democracy," by which phrase he meant that we had undertaken to join in putting an end to dangerous international quarrels that interfered with our peaceful pursuits and those of all mankind. We have not yet done our full part to secure this higher object for which we went to war. It was this that M. Clemenceau was undertaking to tell us in his recent speeches. He was not asking us to do any particular thing, but he was trying to stimulate American perceptions to the point of realizing things as they are. When Clemenceau, in his addresses here, spoke so earnestly for France, he was intending to speak for a kind of union along the lines of moral responsibility that would bring benefits not merely to France, but also to England, to America, and in due time to the German people themselves.

*Changes Within
the Realms of
Britain*

But for the more sensational and disturbing changes elsewhere that take the attention of newspaper readers, we should find a wide appreciation of the important developments that continue to take place within the British Empire. The chief change is

in the imperialistic spirit and tone. With the pre-war empire-building schemes of Germany and Russia frustrated; with the German navy at the bottom of the sea; and with the recent exhibitions of America's strength and will-power, the British viewpoint ceases to be aggressive and becomes coöperative. To the rest of the world the old refrain, "Britannia rules the waves," may have seemed rather domineering than patriotic. As a matter of fact, there had to be some authority at sea; and, viewed broadly, Britain's naval power made for the world's security and well-being. But the British are glad to have America take an equal part in the control of the seas, and would rejoice if their naval bills could safely be reduced well below the level fixed by the Washington Conference. They have now decided that they must begin building the two great dreadnoughts of the "Hood" type that are permitted by the naval ratio treaty. This decision is by no means unfriendly to America, but quite the contrary. It means that world conditions require that the British navy shall not become obsolete. Our own navy is far below its due rank in cruisers and submarines. A new agreement of the naval powers may be needed to stop submarine competition.

*Ireland
and the
"Empire"*

The word "empire" does not well express the aggregation of British interests and relationships, but it continues to be used because it is short and expressive. The British Commonwealth of Nations is the more formal designation that is now in order. This term became something far more substantial than a mere phrase when Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand were accorded their own representatives in various international bodies, and were regularly consulted about foreign and general policies. It was the recognition of this development of the British family of nations that gave birth to the Irish Free State. Ireland could be a country with its own flag and its own institutions, yet be a member of a group of nations to which the other self-governing Dominions belonged. The relations between Great Britain and Ireland were fixed in a treaty which has now been ratified in both countries. The last legal and official step to be taken under the terms of that treaty was the adoption of a Constitution for Ireland which should also be ratified by the British Government.

*The Free
State Finally
Established*

The House of Lords passed the Constitution bill on December 4, with the entire concurrence of all parties and elements in England. Timothy Michael Healy, the veteran Irish Nationalist leader, was appointed Governor General. On December 6 the Irish Free State was inaugurated at Dublin, Mr. Healy taking the oath of office. The Union Jack came down from the Vice-Regal Lodge, a building about which so much painful history had centered; and the new Irish flag of orange, white, and green made its appearance there and over other public buildings. The Dail, as the Irish Parliament is called, met promptly and elected William Cosgrave President of the Cabinet. He testified to the good faith with which the British had observed the treaty, and read a friendly telegram from Premier A. Bonar Law. He declared that the Free State was "another nation admitted to take her place in what was formerly an empire but was now a free partnership." Mr. Cosgrave then nominated his Cabinet, which proves to be the same as under the Provisional Government. There followed the naming of thirty Senators by Mr. Cosgrave, and thirty more were to be elected by the Dail, for service in the first Parliament. Thus the law-making body will consist of two houses. Among the appointed Senators are the Earls of Granard, Wicklow, Kerry, Mayo, and Dunraven; Sir Horace Plunkett; Sir Thomas Esmonde; Mr. Fitzgerald of the *Freeman's Journal*; William Butler Yeats, the poet; Mr. Guinness, of the Bank of Ireland, and other eminent men, besides two women, the Dowager Countess of Desart and Mrs. Wyse Power.

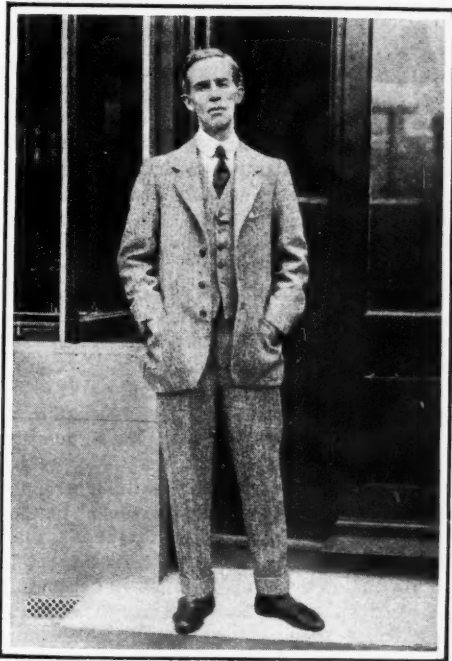
*"Too Good
To Be
True"*

King George had on December 6 signed a proclamation giving effect to the new Irish Free State, and also a proclamation appointing Mr. Healy as the first Governor General. Thus was concluded what in normal times would have been recognized by the world as the foremost political event of the year 1922. Irish aspirations had been fulfilled after centuries of waiting. A kind of "home rule" had been granted that far surpassed the demands of the earlier patriots, or those of such later leaders as Parnell and Redmond. The outcome was almost "too good to be true." From a condition of terrible distress, with many thousands of

British troops and police auxiliaries fighting the Sinn Fein rebels, Ireland under the treaty with England had entered upon the most hopeful opportunities of any small country in Europe. Yet the Irish people had become so much the victims of their own defiant turbulence, in their struggle for freedom, that they could not settle down and accept their good fortune after they had achieved it. Mr. DeValera, with his theoretical mind, supported by a few other leaders whose fanaticism had destroyed all sense of real political values, turned fiercely upon their former associates and set on foot a guerilla war against the Free State. The word "Republican" was their shibboleth, but the thing for which they were committing tragical crimes was an empty theory rather than anything substantial.

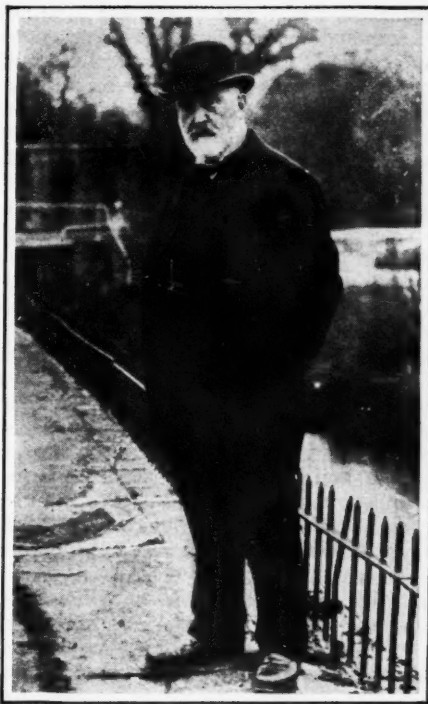
*Tragedy
and Sad
Havoc*

This guerilla warfare could not be condoned or compromised with. It could not be reached by argument, and its leaders were not



THE LATE ERSKINE CHILDERS

(Mr. Childers, who was recently shot by a Free State court martial, was born in England fifty-two years ago and educated at Cambridge. He served in the European war as a British Lieutenant-Commander in the Naval Air Service. After the war he became an active leader in the Irish movement for independence. He was an author of brilliancy and a man of intellectual parts)



TIMOTHY M. HEALY, APPOINTED GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE BY KING GEORGE EARLY IN DECEMBER

(Mr. Healy was born at Bantry in 1855, and in 1880 he was sent to the British Parliament as an Irish Nationalist, where he served continuously for almost forty years. He is a barrister and an author, and his home in recent years has been near Dublin)

to be conciliated. Its chief fomenters were Mr. DeValera and Mr. Erskine Childers. In November the Free State military courts adopted summary measures and began to execute rebel leaders. Childers himself was captured, and on November 24 he was shot. Assassinations and reprisals followed in turn. Few Americans realize to what a fearful plight within a few short months Ireland had been reduced by this strife between the Free State Government and the minority who follow DeValera and the irreconcilables. Last month the Free State army numbered more than 300,000 men actively engaged in trying to put down the insurrection, while no one could reliably estimate the number of "Republicans" fighting in guerilla bands. While Mr. Cosgrave was predicting that the insurrection would soon be crushed out, the cost to Ireland was appalling. Railroad lines were everywhere cut; business was at a stand-

still except in a small local way; the new Free State was running up a heavy bill for war expenditures. There could be no doubt of the good will toward the Free State that existed in the United States and throughout the British domains in general; and the "Republican" terrorism lacked outside support.

*Ulster
and Creed
Differences*

The heads of the new Free State had not forgotten to send a message of friendly greeting to the authorities of Ulster. Our readers will remember that the half-dozen northern counties with Belfast as their capital and center had steadfastly refused to throw in their lot with the rest of Ireland. Back of the complete political separation that has now come about, lurk prejudices and antagonisms that are chiefly religious in their origin and persistence. Strife between Protestants and Catholics as such has been more pronounced in Ireland, and has been more destructive in every sense of the word, than anywhere else in recent times. Broad-minded friends of Ireland as a whole are hoping that common interests may bring these separated parts of the island together in due time, and that closer relations may result in the disappearance of animosities.

*Race and
Religion
in Canada*

Among our own neighbors on the North we find a compact and increasing body of French people, who cling to their native tongue and who are among the most devout adherents of the Catholic Church. The people of the rest of Canada are predominantly Protestant. There have been some serious differences in parts of Canada over questions of language and creed in elementary schools. But upon the whole our Canadian friends have given the world a good example in tolerance and in the statesmanlike art of compromise. There have been wise leaders in Canada among both elements; and Ireland, North and South alike, might well learn kindness and wisdom from Canadian experience.

*Tolerance
an American
Principle*

The United States was founded upon the principles of religious freedom. The Catholics of Maryland as well as the Puritans of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, and the Churchmen of Virginia, helped to create this republic. The original Constitution provided for the abolition of the slave trade, and in a later period the document was

amended to ratify emancipation and to give civil and political rights to several million people of African origin. We have added immensely in recent years to what has become our present great population, of 110,000,000 people, by immigration laws and methods of our own devising. We have now some millions of Jews in this country whom we brought here deliberately, most of them eager to escape from unhappy conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe. We have also in these later decades brought millions of people from Italy and parts of the former Austrian Empire, most of whom are Catholics in their religious relations. Among the American Jews we now find a number of our most eminent and useful citizens. The Catholics, equally with the Protestants, have from the very beginning had their positions of honor and influence, in accordance with their individual deserts. We have by recent legislation greatly diminished the incoming tide of European refugees and home-seekers; but we have very large elements of foreign-born population that have not yet become duly Americanized. Naturalization has been too easy.

*"Know-Nothing-ism," Old
and New*

Three generations ago, after a very rapid accession of Irish and German immigrants, there arose among people of earlier American stock an anti-alien movement in politics which came to be called "Know-nothingism." Within the past year, a somewhat analogous movement has been noted in various parts of the country. It has been reported that in Texas, Oregon, and perhaps some other States, the recent November elections were decisively influenced by a society that asserts white supremacy, Protestantism, and old-time Americanism as against certain real or hypothetical tendencies of a counter sort. On November 19, Governor Parker of Louisiana appeared in Washington to consult with President Harding and the Department of Justice regarding an "invisible government" that was alleged to be interfering with the administration of justice in his own State and in other parts of the South. In Kansas, Governor Allen assailed the Ku Klux Klan, and encouraged the Attorney-General to proceed against it as a corporation organized in Georgia which had not been licensed to do business in Kansas. Prosecutions were begun against the Klan in Virginia, and the subject came up late in November for

debate at Washington, both in the Senate and in the House. Great differences of opinion were expressed as to the extent of terrorism or unlawful activity on the part of this secret order. Mayor Hylan made accusations and threats at New York, and two grand juries in that city began to investigate the Klan. Meanwhile the secret society itself held a convention at Atlanta in which a thousand chapters were said to have been represented. In Oregon it is reported that the Klan activities took the form of legislation against private schools.

*Open Counsels
Rather than
Secret Orders* In our opinion, the body of American citizenship needs no secret societies, or special private organizations, to protect its best interests against its own members. It is the business of government, local and general, to protect all citizens in their rights. It is the duty of political parties to rival one another in endeavors to promote the common well-being. If privately constituted groups, whether Protestant, or Catholic, or otherwise, are holding narrow views, or are embittered against their neighbors of other religions or of different racial origins, the best procedure lies in frank and direct argument and intercourse. Let the best Jews, Catholics, and Protestants in their neighborhoods come together in efforts to make their communities better places in which to live. The leaders of all creeds will soon grow to esteem one another. We have already had great coöperation in relief work, growing out of war conditions. There are many neighborhoods throughout the United States in which Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish Rabbis work together in harmony, all of them stimulated to better effort by the spirit of service that they find in men whose creeds are not exactly the same as their own.

*A Sermon
by Will
Hays* We cannot too strongly commend to adherents of different churches, or members of different racial groups, the remarkable article that Mr. Will H. Hays contributes to the present number of this magazine. Having served a year in the cabinet of President Harding as Postmaster-General, Mr. Hays at the beginning of last March took up a new work to which he had been urgently invited. He became the head of an association of producers of motion pictures. The article that he now presents to America

through our pages tells what he and his associates are trying to do to render service to the whole country through this marvelous agency of entertainment and instruction now popularly known as the "film." The magnitude of the new industry and the extent to which its influences have permeated the nation's life are set forth very attractively by Mr. Hays. But most important of all is the high spirit in which this sympathetic and popular American leader proclaims "Service" as the main object, and then tells us in clear, concrete fashion just what he means by making the motion picture industry serve the United States and the world. He has a vision of harmony taking the place of discord. He sees the value of doing constructive things instead of wasting time in trying to expose the iniquities of one's neighbors.

*How to
Dissolve
Prejudice*

If Will Hays and his associates had a fair chance to show what they could do in Ireland, they would first make the motion picture harmonize the differences between Free State men and Republicans, and then they would take up the harder—but quite possible—task of making the North and South admire and respect each other. It is not simply the gospel of motion pictures that Mr. Hays is preaching in this article. In showing us how one agency may help to unify society upon higher planes, breaking down walls of harmful prejudice, he is actually showing us that there are many better ways to serve the country than to form societies which intensify the feelings of particular groups, and which deepen the chasms that ought rather to be filled up. America has been so generous to newcomers of all sorts that it ill becomes these imperfectly assimilated elements to form themselves in groups for any selfish ends, whether private or public. On the other hand, Americans of old stock can afford to maintain the hospitable traditions of the country, and need not fear to stand openly for what they believe to be right and essential in principles that newcomers must be made to respect.

*Lynching
an American
Reproach*

The unrest that shows itself in racial and sectarian clanishness and that appeals to the mob spirit has been manifested of late in many other directions. While some kinds of lawlessness may be curbed by legislation, it is not chiefly by legal machinery that

proper social conditions can be restored. Lynching, for example, is the extreme expression of mob rule and social break-down. There is nothing that so discredits American life in the eyes of millions of people in Europe, Asia, and Africa as the gruesome tales disseminated abroad whenever some unfortunate person, usually a negro, is burned at the stake by an American mob, or hung from a telephone pole. Lynch law is not confined to a single section of the country, nor does it wholly spare individuals who are not of African descent. But more usually negroes have been the victims, and—because more negroes live there—the race friction is more frequent in the South than in most parts of the North, although in recent years nothing of that kind has gone to such extremes as the race riots in Chicago of 1919, during which 23 negroes and 15 whites were killed, and 537 people were injured. It is true that murderous riots and lynching are not technically the same thing, but they are as a rule very closely related.

*Anti-Lynching
Bill Defeated
at Washington*

For a good while there has been an agitation in favor of the enactment of anti-lynching laws at Washington, under which Federal courts throughout the United States would have original jurisdiction, and Federal prosecutors and grand juries under orders from the Department of Justice could take the initiative. For reasons too obvious to explain, such a measure could not pass in a Democratic Congress; while with the overwhelming Republican majority in the present House the so-called Dyer Anti-Lynching bill secured approval on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119, and went to the Senate. It had first place on the Senate calendar when Congress adjourned for the elections; and the Republican steering committee proposed to push it to its passage before anything else was done, when Congress reassembled in November on President Harding's call. The bill had been stoutly supported and was officially pushed as a majority measure, Mr. Shortridge of California being personally in charge of it. Its constitutionality had been vouched for by many leading lawyers, and, also, according to press reports, by the American Bar Association. But after several days of unavailing effort to do business the Republican Senators met in caucus, and Mr. Lodge announced on December 2 that the Anti-

Lynching bill was dropped and that Congress would go ahead with the regular business of the session, which, besides the annual appropriation bills, included the Ship Subsidy bill and proposed legislation to provide for the expansion of farm credits.

*A Successful
Filibuster*

The Senate has no rules for limiting debate, and the Democrats announced that they would filibuster until the present Congress ends, on the fourth of March, if the Anti-Lynching bill were not withdrawn. Even Senator Underwood of Alabama, who had never indulged in obstructive tactics before, was resolutely committed to this method of side-tracking the Dyer bill. The Democrats declared that the Republican motive was the solidifying of the Northern negro vote. Within the past year or two, Governors and other high officials in a number of States have shown unwonted energy, with the support of the best newspapers, in trying to combat the lynching evil. But, now that the proposed national law has been defeated, it is especially incumbent upon the States to show that they can deal with lawless mobs without Federal intervention.

*Bootlegging
Rampant*

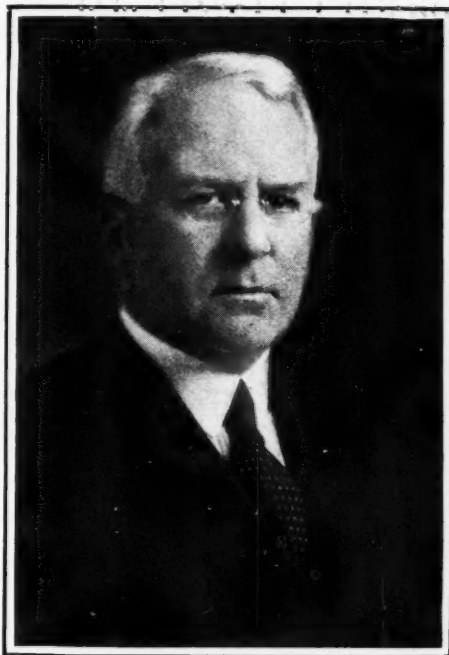
The spirit of social unrest has been widely exhibited of late in the methods condoned by many people for setting at naught the prohibitory laws. The bootleggers grow rich and defiant, and the smugglers pursue a thriving trade which seems not always to have been sufficiently frowned upon by the governing authorities of foreign countries, and those in control of ships sailing under alien flags. President Harding will call a conference of Governors to deal with the question of law enforcement as related to violations of the Volstead act. A certain international attitude of unfriendliness toward America's effort to make the "dry" experiment effective, seems to associate itself with a laxity in respect to other reforms. With the United States taking the leading part, an international agreement was reached in 1912 for the suppression of the opium traffic. The late Dr. Hamilton Wright was the foremost American expert and representative in the measures that were adopted for limiting the production of opium, and for curbing a nefarious traffic that was chiefly harmful to China, but also baneful everywhere.

*Laxity in
the Opium
Traffic*

Since 1919, the enforcement of the opium agreement has been turned over to a committee of the League of Nations with results that have been sadly disappointing. Mrs. Wright, who is a daughter of the late Senator Washburn of Minnesota, and who had always cooperated with her distinguished husband in his work for human welfare, is now connected with the Geneva committee. She is attending a new Conference of that group, associated with a competent "observer" named by our State Department. She contributes to this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS an article showing the new menace that lurks in the increase of the traffic in drugs, following the enlarged cultivation of the poppy in certain Oriental countries. Mrs. Wright knows the subject thoroughly from every standpoint, and she meets the situation with a directness and courage that will in the end find a way to secure acceptance for the American point of view. This is a field in which the United States will have to resume its lost leadership.

*Congress in
Session Again*

President Harding had called Congress to meet on November 20, in order to gain two weeks before the opening of the regular short session. Undoubtedly the Administration has hoped that appropriation bills could be passed and several measures disposed of before March 4, so that it would not be necessary to call the new Congress to meet and organize prior to its first regular session, which will begin on the third day of December next. With the opening of Congress came the resignation of Senator Newberry of Michigan, in consequence of the November vote in which his Republican colleague, Senator Townsend, had been defeated. The Governor of Michigan at once appointed Mr. James Couzens, Mayor of Detroit, to fill the Senate seat thus vacated. President Harding appeared before Congress in person and urged upon Congress the adoption of the Shipping Board's subsidy plan. We are dealing with this topic in later paragraphs. Although the Subsidy bill passed promptly in the House, the moral victory was on the other side, inasmuch as the bill had been seriously changed by amendment, even then securing only a fraction of a full party majority. The Senate meanwhile had voted down the proposed \$5,000,000 loan to Liberia, which



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**HON. JAMES COUZENS, SENATOR FROM
MICHIGAN**

(Upon the resignation of Senator Newberry, Mr. Couzens, who was serving as Mayor of Detroit, was appointed to fill the vacant seat at Washington. He is fifty years old and was until a few years ago the vice-president and general manager of the Ford Motor Company. He has been prominent in Detroit municipal affairs for a number of years and like Senator-elect Howell of Nebraska is an exponent of municipal operation of public utilities.)

had been urged by the Administration and which in our opinion ought yet to be granted. The Liberian situation will be fully discussed in this magazine next month.

"Atmospheric Disturbances" The extra session of two weeks was merged without break into the regular session, which began Monday, December 4. The President, in offering the budget for another fiscal year, gave figures of proposed expenditure and expected income that showed drastic efforts to secure economy, while indicating that aggregate taxation could not be reduced, even though some tax methods might be improved. As the work of the session proceeded, the outlook for the Ship Subsidy bill in the Senate appeared to be increasingly unfavorable, and the bringing forward of farm legislation by the Republican leaders seemed to foreshadow the doom of the subsidy measure. With all the discussion of radical move-



© Keystone View

FOUR REPUBLICAN SENATORS WHO ARE MANAGING THE MAJORITY PROGRAM

(Reading from left to right are, Senator Curtis of Kansas, Senator Smoot of Utah, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, and Senator Watson of Indiana)

ments and third parties that has filled the press, there seems not the slightest indication of any important third party movement. There have been political flurries in a number of States, but these for the most part have been local, and there is no sign of a formidable and coherent national movement to launch a so-called "radical" party. The political atmosphere has been disturbed, but there is little "conservatism" anywhere for "progressives" to assail, except in loose talk. Within the ranks of both of the existing major parties there are leaders who desire to secure certain legislative changes which in themselves are without partisan bearing.

Farming and Politics

Thus men of thorough information are not misled by talk about a great popular movement against the Administration, said to be sponsored by the so-called Farm Bloc, and directed by Mr. La Follette. The Farm Bureau Federation itself is not working more closely in relation to real farm conditions than is the Department of Agriculture under Secretary Wallace's direction; and President Harding is not out of touch with his Secretary of Agriculture. Endeavors to secure the best possible changes in existing laws in order that farming interests everywhere may have better credit and banking support, have no par-

tisan bearing of any kind. Agriculture in the United States is not a special interest, but is a fundamental thing, and its prosperity is essential to the whole country. That farm marketing and the distribution of crops ought to be facilitated is obvious enough; but how to deal with these questions in legislation is a matter requiring knowledge rather than wordy assertions. If the "Farm Bloc" has been influential, it is merely because it is active as a non-partisan group of law-makers who have been giving particular attention to certain subjects that require study and knowledge. There is no reason to think that any members of either house of Congress have any more sincere concern for

the welfare of the rural population than the President himself.

The President's Survey

On December 8, Mr. Harding appeared before Congress with his regular annual message. He discussed agricultural conditions with full recognition of their importance, and presented the transportation problem in various aspects with a just sense of its relation to the public welfare. He dwelt upon the harmfulness of railway strikes, and recommended changes in the Railway Labor Board. His allusions to the elasticity provisions of the new tariff show broad purposes; and the President is evidently in full harmony with Secretary Hoover as regards our commercial policies. Nothing could have been more frank and timely than the President's demands for strict enforcement of the prohibition law. He advises the registration of all aliens now here before enlarging the immigration quotas. He recommends the submission of a constitutional amendment, in view of the fact that Supreme Court decisions have broken down the national laws prohibiting child labor. With the full concurrence of the Treasury Department, Mr. Harding advocates a change in the Constitution in order to restrict issues of tax-exempt securities. Conservation policies are briefly recommended. Looking to foreign relations, the

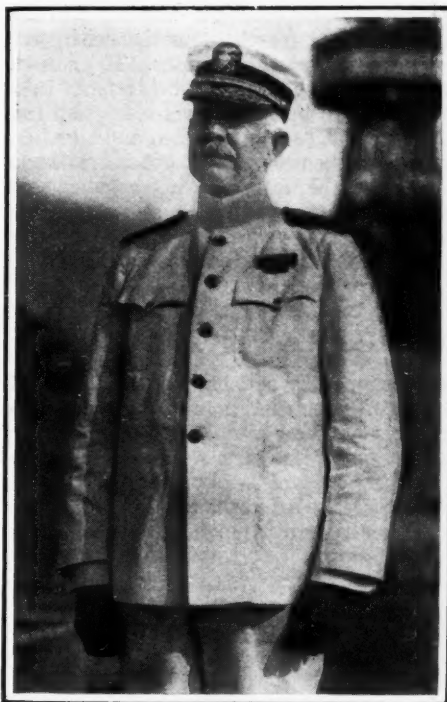
President refers hopefully to the results of the Washington Conference. He declares that "we are cognizant of the world's struggles for full readjustment and rehabilitation, and we have shirked no duty which comes of sympathy or fraternity or highest fellowship among nations."

*Harding and
His Official
Family*

There is much seasoned wisdom in the President's message, and he has continued to bear himself with presidential dignity, as the head of a remarkably industrious and capable Cabinet. Several weeks ago, Secretary Hoover declared explicitly his belief that Mr. Harding would be renominated for a second term, and avowed his own earnest support of the President. Cabinet ministers like Mr. Hoover do not work spectacularly and are not seeking undue publicity; but the Department of Commerce is constantly growing in efficiency under Mr. Hoover's direction, while the Department of Agriculture is better organized than ever before, and is directed with rare intelligence. The work of the State Department under Mr. Hughes continues to hold confidence at home and respect abroad. The average of character and capacity in our diplomatic and consular services is perhaps as high at this time as ever in our history. Under Secretary Denby's direction, we have consolidated the Atlantic and the Pacific fleets, and put them under the command of Admiral Hilary P. Jones. Secretary Weeks, co-operating with Generals Pershing and Harbord, has been dealing with the problems of a reduced army, to the best of his well-trained ability. With the opening of the new year, General Harbord retires from active army service and assumes the head of the Radio Corporation of America. Problems in the Philippines, which come under supervision of the Insular Bureau of the War Department, have been moving toward desirable solutions under Governor-General Leonard Wood; but his services are still needed there and he is remaining indefinitely at Manila. At personal sacrifice, General Wood has given up the position as head of the University of Pennsylvania to which he had been appointed.

*The Attorney-
General
Attacked*

Mr. Daugherty's conduct of his office as Attorney-General has been bitterly assailed in several quarters, and the attacks culmi-



ADMIRAL HILARY P. JONES, NEW COMMANDER OF OUR COMBINED ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC FLEET

(Admiral Jones, who was born in Virginia in 1863 and graduated at Annapolis in 1884, has had a long and varied naval career. He was made Rear-Admiral in 1917, Vice-Admiral in 1919, and Admiral in 1921)

nated some weeks ago in a movement for an impeachment trial, the nominal lead being taken by Representative Keller of Minnesota. Hearings were pending before the Judiciary Committee of the House (Mr. Volstead being chairman) last month, to determine whether the charges against Mr. Daugherty were well enough founded and serious enough to justify the House in proceeding to impeach the Attorney-General before the Senate. The charges, which were numerous and varied, seemed to allege general unfitness rather than any outstanding offense of a specific nature.

*The Ship
Subsidy
Bill*

President Harding's message to Congress on the Administration's ship subsidy program, delivered on November 21, was a clearly reasoned and able effort to launch the shipping bill as successfully as possible in the troubled political waters that awaited it. Aside from any theoretical questions, the

present Administration is confronted in the matter of our merchant marine with very grim and practical conditions. The nation, finding itself one of the belligerents in a great war to be waged over-seas, with few American ships to carry men and supplies, feverishly spent \$3,000,000,000 in creating a fleet, with the waste and extravagance that necessarily attended such a gigantic operation conducted under forced draft. After the war, the demand for carriers fell off to a point where there were twice as many ships in the world as were needed to do the carrying. In this competitive situation, American ships found themselves hopelessly handicapped by acts of Congress, designed to give better conditions for labor to employees on these vessels, which made the cost of operating our fleet much higher than the costs of foreign ship owners. The net result is that after scrapping our wooden fleet, we have over 1400 ships controlled by the Government of which only 400 are in operation. These vessels cannot under present conditions be leased or sold, as there is no money to be made in the business, and the Shipping Board announces a current yearly loss of \$50,000,000.

*The
President's
Arguments*

President Harding has pointed out that this operating deficit of \$50,000,000 a year was achieved after every conceivable measure of economy had been applied, and that when his Administration took hold of the situation, the Shipping Board had been losing money at the rate of nearly \$200,000,000 a year. He adds that this current operating deficit does not represent all of the nation's possible loss, as the huge fleet is itself deteriorating; and unless measures are taken to put the shipping business on a profitable basis, or provide operators, there will be a further enormous and indeterminate loss on capital account, as ships which can never be operated except at a loss obviously become a liability rather than an asset. Under the best conceivable conditions, our \$3,000,000,000 fleet is worth to-day only a fraction of its cost. If present conditions are to continue, it is apparently worth something less than nothing, and the entire American project for the creation of an American merchant marine will go up into smoke. As a nation we aid industry through our tariffs, and we have aided railway transportation by land grants and loans. We expend many millions to construct roads

for truck companies, and for the improvement of inland waterways. Other millions go to reclamation, irrigation and water-power projects. The President very pertinently points out that no one proceeds to damn these governmental efforts with the word "subsidy."

*What Gov-
ernment Aid
May Do*

The Administration estimates that the direct aid offered by its shipping bill to carriers will not reach \$20,000,000 a year, with business at its present level, and that even if it should increase so that American ships carry one-half of our ocean commerce, the direct aid will not be more than \$30,000,000 annually. President Harding has the courage to put himself firmly on record in predicting that every dollar of these proposed subventions that may be given to ship owners for the next twenty-five years will be repaid in one form or another. He estimates that at the very maximum of outlay, we should be saving \$20,000,000 of our present annual operating loss. He points out further that if our activity as ocean-carriers should ever increase to the point where the maximum payments were made to the owners of vessels, it would simply mean that the original ambition of the American people to have their own merchant marine would have been realized.

*The
Opposing
Views*

The Administration's vigorous and consistent fight for its shipping bill is based on logical grounds. The American people, if they are to have a merchant marine—and they had made up their minds they wanted one and spent \$3,000,000,000 to get it—can have it in this way. But it cannot be operated without some such governmental aid as is now asked for, and it will disappear with much further financial loss under any *laissez-faire* policy. The numerous active and bitter opponents of the proposed new policy are not so logical. Most of them are satisfied with holding up to scorn the word "subsidy." There are others who feel that offering government aid now is merely sending good dollars after bad ones. A few of these are consistent enough to look their own policy full in the face, and advocate the destruction of the fleet and the closing of the account, adding \$3,000,000,000 to the cost of making war. They are not convinced by the Administration's confidence that we shall some time be able to do ocean-carrying

at a profit. The "tramp" steamships are the ones that really make money, and our costs of operation do not allow us to compete with foreign tramps. Such objectors argue further that our existing ships are not well adapted to particular trades and that they will always lose money in competition with foreign ships especially designed for profit-making. It is true, too, that our fleet is already becoming old-fashioned, when the niceties of profit and loss are considered. Steam reciprocating ship engines are gradually disappearing to give place to the Diesel motor type.

*Stormy
Progress
for the Bill*

Even with all the ardor of the Administration behind its careful and well-reasoned attempt to do something constructive in the desperate shipping situation, the bill's progress through Congress has been stormy indeed. It was finally approved by the House of Representatives, though with amendments, one of which may be fatal to its possible efficiency. This requires that Congress should act each year in making a special appropriation for the aid prescribed by the bill. As a practical question, it seems certain that capital would not be invested in a business that depended for its life each year on the current temper of Congress and political intrigue. As we have already observed in a preceding paragraph, after bitter opposition in the Senate, the shipping bill seemed in mid-December about to be shelved temporarily to make way for the consideration of the important proposals to provide for rural credits.

*Secretary
Mellon's Tax
Suggestions*

Secretary Mellon's report from the Treasury Department was submitted to Congress on December 6. It proposed no general revision of the revenue laws nor additional taxes, but it urged very vigorously and intelligently a few important specific changes in the present law. Chief of these is a lower maximum surtax rate on individual incomes. Secretary Mellon explains that this plea is made not with the view of collecting less money from wealthy people, but with a definite purpose to collect more. The present highest surtax on incomes is 50 per cent. which, with the normal tax, makes the recipient of a large income pay 58 per cent. on a portion of his yearly revenue. The Secretary of the Treasury would be undoubtedly well satisfied if the individual

actually paid it. But, as always happens when rates of taxation are unduly high, means of evasion are found that are perfectly legal, and the exorbitant rate beats its own purpose. Among the more important of these means of evasion are (1) deductions of losses on sales of capital assets; (2) exchanges of property substituted for sales, and (3) investments in tax-exempt securities. As a result of such devices, the number of taxable incomes over \$300,000 reported to the Revenue Department has shown an astonishing decrease. From 1916 to 1920, while the aggregate of all net incomes increased from \$6,300,000,000 to \$23,700,000,000, the aggregate of incomes over \$300,000 actually decreased from \$993,000,000 in 1916 to \$246,300,000 in 1920. Thus, the very high rates simply caused the disappearance of large incomes on which they would apply. To remedy this situation, Secretary Mellon recommends a reduction of the maximum income surtax rate from the present 50 per cent. to 25 per cent. or less. The suggestion is entirely sound economically, and all taxing experience would go to show that more money would be collected by the Government under a 20 or 25 per cent. maximum rate than under the present schedules. President Harding urged a year ago some such change. Few thoughtful men can find any practical objection. Political expediencies, however, make it in the highest degree improbable that such a revision downward will be approved by Congress.

*Tax-
Exempt
Securities*

Secretary Mellon's program for reaching effectively the larger incomes includes also a stop on further issues of tax-exempt securities by the several States and their subdivisions. The existing securities of this nature, with their income exempt from all federal taxation, are estimated to reach \$11,000,000,000, and with the artificial demand for them, resulting from their value as a tax-free haven for incomes of large proportions, the new annual output is about \$1,000,000,000. A wealthy man contemplating a new investment finds that, with the present high surtaxes, a 6 per cent. security, not tax-exempt, gives him only 2.52 per cent. net return, from which State and local taxes must still be deducted. To such an investor, a sound municipal or State bond, tax-free and returning, say, 4½ per cent. net, is the obvious recourse.

A Constitutional Amendment Asked

Not only does the Federal Government lose all tax revenue from the sum so invested, but industry at large suffers because these wealthy investors would otherwise put their money into productive enterprises such as the railroads, which so sadly need new capital. The borrowings of States and municipalities are generally unproductive, and not infrequently wasteful. The State and municipal securities already issued are a fact accomplished, and no move has been made to interfere with their tax-exempt provisions, which are, doubtless, legally impregnable. Secretary Mellon's suggestion is that the States be asked to vote for a constitutional amendment prohibiting further issues of such exempted bonds. This would be a long process at best, and it is somewhat difficult to picture the sovereign States voluntarily giving up this, to them, very advantageous money-raising opportunity. The one chance to get a favorable vote on such a proposal would come from an intelligent understanding on the part of the voters that the change is being made particularly for purposes of bringing very wealthy people into the fold of tax-payers. A third definite recommendation looking toward the increase of taxable revenue, is that the law should be so amended that the individual would be allowed in the case of capital losses sustained, to deduct only $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of such losses instead of the entire amount. The Secretary complains that under the present arrangement the Treasury is being "whip-sawed," with individuals deducting all their losses and refusing to establish their profits. As an alternative to a restriction of capital loss deduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., he suggests the English practice of refusing to recognize either capital gains or capital losses for income purposes.

Our Falling Tax Revenue

The Internal Revenue Bureau's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, bears out very strikingly Secretary Mellon's recommendations. Federal tax collections for that year fell off 30 per cent., or \$1,400,000,000, as compared with 1921. Of this decrease, income and profits taxes contributed no less than \$1,141,000,000, which represented a falling-off of 35 per cent., as compared with previous years. Some of this decrease was undoubtedly caused by the condition of business, but no

small part was the result of the factors which Secretary Mellon seeks to change—the high surtax and the refuge of tax-exempt securities. The revenue bureau reports that the nation spent last year for the work of collecting taxes \$34,286,000, which makes the cost \$1.07 for each \$100 collected. In the previous year, the cost per \$100 was only 72 cents. Commissioner Blair of the Revenue Bureau explains that this rapidly mounting cost of collection is due directly to the smaller amount of revenue received, the collection machine being in no way flexible enough to cut down its expense along with the decreasing revenues. Income tax returns to the number of 1,250,000 are received in Washington during a year, and nearly a million are audited. Even on the Washington audit, without field examination, about \$80,000,000 additional tax was assessed on individual, partnership and corporation returns.

North American Policies

There are large economic situations which demand joint study by the United States and Canada with a view to cooperating policies. Sir Henry W. Thornton arrived at New York several weeks ago on his way to take up the duties of his new position as head of the Canadian National Railways. Sir Henry only a few years ago was an every-day American railroad man of first-rate ability, who was general superintendent of the Long Island Railroad. He was called to England in 1914 to become General Manager of the Great Eastern Railway, and in 1917 he became a director of England's inland waterways. During the war he was given a high military title and made one of the heads of transportation. He was an Indiana boy who graduated in engineering at the University of Pennsylvania, and made rapid advancement in the engineering department of the Pennsylvania Railroad system. It is a matter of no slight consequence that so capable a man and one so familiar with the problems of transportation by land and by water should just now become the director of the vast governmental railways system of Canada. If we have a serious problem in the eastward movement of surplus food products, our Canadian neighbors have a similar problem, intensified by the fact that most of their wheat crop must be exported and it must pay carrying charges over longer average distances than ours.

*Leaders of
Dominion
Affairs*

Members of the present Canadian Cabinet have recently said that a joint international railway commission is almost a necessity for Canada and the United States. Montreal alone during the past season has handled more than 150,000,000 bushels of export wheat. The problems that the Canadian railway managers have to deal with are so intimately related to our own problems that there ought to be opportunity for careful study with a view to some uniformity of treatment. The Canadian Pacific Railway (with 16,000 miles) is much the largest part of the total 20,000 miles of railroads that are outside of Canada's governmental mileage of 22,000. Lord Shaughnessy is chairman of the directorate of the Canadian Pacific system, having been connected with that organization for forty years. As Thomas G. Shaughnessy, he was born in Milwaukee, and he was a rising young American railroad official when he went to Canada at the age of thirty. We have now among the leaders of affairs in the Dominion a group of broadminded statesmen and economists in the Government, and of exceedingly capable men directing private industries and transportation. We should be showing ourselves more provincial than the Canadians if we were not ready to meet them fully halfway in their willingness to look at our common economic problems and difficulties in close conference, and with a recognition of mutual interests.

*Tariffs,
Immigrants,
Waterways*

There are tariff questions involved in the lumber schedule, the agricultural schedule, and certain others, that call for reciprocity. Certain immigration questions ought to find the two countries acting harmoniously. Waterways as well as railways are topics of common interest. In the course of time undoubtedly we shall decide to coöperate with Canada in improving navigation to Montreal by way of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile there should be urged upon the Canadians in all reasonable ways the advantages that might be derived from their making larger use of our existing markets and of our present-day facilities for moving freight. In the present number of this magazine will be found a most interesting group of closely related articles regarding New York's barge canal system, which is at last fully ready for service. A



SIR HENRY W. THORNTON

(The new Anglo-American head of the Canadian governmental railway system)

member of our own Staff recalls the historic facts relating to the construction of the Erie Canal a hundred years ago. Hon. Henry W. Hill, of Buffalo, who has had an important part in the recent development of the barge canal system, sets forth the vital facts as to its present capacity to help in the movement of commodities. Mr. Charles E. Ogden, of the Department of Public Works of New York State, writes entertainingly of a recent voyage from Lake Erie to the Hudson through the modernized canal. A few months ago we published an instructive and convincing article by Hon. Julius Barnes, now President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, showing the need of improving the St. Lawrence route. There is nothing in our articles this month on the New York canals that in any manner antagonizes the program which Mr. Barnes explains and justifies. But what New York State has done by way of creating waterways that are offered freely to producers and shippers throughout the country, is entitled to the admiring good will of everybody in the Mississippi Valley and the Farther West. A larger use of the canals would relieve the overburdened railroads, and save money for producers and consumers.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 15 to December 15, 1922)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

November 20.—The Sixty-seventh Congress meets in second special session, to act upon the President's recommendation for Ship Subsidy legislation.

November 21.—Both houses hear President Harding make a special appeal for financial aid to the American merchant marine.

The Senate seats Mrs. W. H. Felton (Dem., Ga.), whose elected successor, Walter F. George, politely withholds his credentials for one day; Mrs. Felton thus becomes the first woman Senator.

November 22.—The House, voting 200 to 110, adopts a special rule for consideration of the Ship Subsidy measure, against which a caucus of Democrats is placed on record.

November 23.—In the Senate, Messrs. Borah, Hitchcock, and Sterling debate certain points raised by M. Clemenceau in his speeches.

November 27.—The House, voting 56 to 47, rejects that part of the Ship Subsidy bill which would permit shippers to deduct from their income-tax returns 5 per cent. of freight paid on goods carried by American vessels.

In the Senate, the Liberian \$5,000,000 loan bill is defeated, 42 to 33; the opposition is mostly Democratic, although the matter is a heritage from the Wilson Administration.

November 28.—The Senate is deadlocked in debate of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill, the Democrats filibustering against it under the lead of Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala.)

November 29.—The House passes the Ship Subsidy bill, 208 to 184, four Democrats voting for the measure, and 69 Republicans against it; the bill goes to the Senate with the liquor amendment, which denied the subsidy to boats selling intoxicants, removed by vote of 227 to 21.

December 1.—In the House, Mr. Keller (Rep., Minn.) submits fourteen allegations in support of his resolution that Attorney-General Daugherty be impeached.

A group of so-called "radicals," composed of thirty-three members of the House and Senate, form a progressive bloc under the leadership of Senator La Follette (Rep., Wis.).

December 2.—Senate Republicans in caucus agree to drop the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill; and Mr. Underwood (Dem., Ala) is so notified, thus ending the deadlock.

December 4.—The second extra session of the Sixty-seventh Congress ends and the fourth session (second regular session) begins, with but a few minutes' intermission.

Both branches receive from the President a budget outlining Government financing for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1924. estimated receipts are \$3,361,812,350, expenditures \$3,180,843,234, showing a prospective surplus of \$180,969,125.

December 5.—The Senate Committee on Agri-

culture submits a recommendation for constitutional amendments changing the date for inauguration of the President and the convening of Congress to January following election, and also advises that the Electoral College be abolished.

December 6.—The Senate Committee on Commerce receives a letter from President Harding stating he would rather see the Ship Subsidy bill fail altogether than to jeopardize a fair trial of the ten-year subsidy by the annual appropriation amendment accepted by the House.

December 8.—In joint session, President Harding delivers in person his annual message, which suggests farm credits, use of motor trucks as railroad feeders, pooling of freight cars, a new and more powerful board to handle railroad labor problems, a conference of Governors on prohibition enforcement, registration of aliens, a Constitutional amendment covering child labor, cooperative buying as well as production, and other measures.

December 9.—The Senate Committee on Commerce reports favorably the Ship Subsidy bill, with some minor amendments.

December 11.—The Senate adopts a resolution offered by Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) calling upon the State Department for detailed information concerning the ratification of the treaties which resulted from the disarmament conference at Washington.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—J. Ogden Armour presents to the federal authorities a plan for merging the five national meat-packing houses into two great competing organizations.

November 18.—Action is begun in the federal courts to annul prohibition provisions restricting physicians in the practice of medicine.

November 19.—United States Senator Truman H. Newberry (Rep., Mich.) resigns, because of continued public disapproval of the use of excessive funds for his election. . . . Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana consults President Harding regarding suppression of the Ku Klux Klan in his State.

November 23.—Pierce Butler, St. Paul Democrat, is nominated by the President as Associate Justice of the federal Supreme Court to succeed Justice Day.

November 24.—The federal government begins actions at law to recover \$20,000,000 for fraud in connection with army cantonment contracts.

November 25.—Representatives of the seven States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, sign an interstate treaty for controlling and utilizing the waters of the Colorado River; the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hoover, presides.

November 29.—Mayor James Couzens, of Detroit, Mich., is appointed to fill the seat of Senator Newberry, resigned.

December 3.—The Secretary of the Navy, Mr.

Denby, in his annual report, asks, when conditions warrant, for a navy equal to any afloat.

December 4.—Two grand juries at New York City start investigating the Ku Klux Klan.

December 6.—Secretary Mellon, in his annual report, advocates reduction by half of surtax on incomes to a maximum of 25 per cent., and a prohibition of tax-exempt securities by Constitutional amendment.

December 7.—New York State decides to stop distribution of anthracite except when mixed with bituminous or small sizes, owing to serious shortage of anthracite for household use.

The Navy Department consolidates the Atlantic and the Pacific fleets under the single command of Admiral Hilary P. Jones.

December 8.—General Pershing urges, in his report as Chief of Staff, an air force capable of taking the immediate defensive.

December 10.—Secretary Hoover recommends, in his annual report, the reorganization of Government agencies dealing with manufacturing, shipping, transportation, fisheries, commerce, and mining into three bureaus under assistant secretaries of trade, industry and navigation.

December 12.—In Illinois the proposed new constitution is rejected by 700,000 majority, the principal objections seeming to be against the income-tax provision and the limiting of Cook County (Chicago) legislators.

The Detroit Street Railway Commission, headed by William B. Mayo, chief engineer of the Ford Motor Company, takes over the city transit lines, announcing it will build its own trolley cars and install a bonus system for employees.

December 14.—Governors of fourteen States meet at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., for the Governors, Fourteenth Annual Conference, and John M. Parker of Louisiana challenges the gathering to dispute his assertion that the Ku Klux Klan should be suppressed and that prohibition enforcement throughout the country is a farce.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—The English elections result in filling the 615 seats in Parliament with 345 Conservatives, 141 Laborites, 52 Lloyd George Liberals, 57 Asquith Liberals, and 10 others, not including 10 University seats.

November 17.—Four men are executed at Dublin for carrying arms.

The Turkish Sultan, Mohammed VI, abdicates, seeking refuge on a British warship with his son, Prince Ertogrul Effendi.

The government of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia at Chita is abolished, and the assembly votes to unite with the Russian Soviets at Moscow.

November 18.—President Obregon informs American Chargé Summerlin that Mexico cannot tolerate "previous censure from Governments of other countries" of oil legislation; Secretary Hughes denies undue interference and states that suggestions were welcomed by certain Mexican officials.

Prince Abdul Medjid is elected Caliph (religious head of the Mohammedans), succeeding the deposed Sultan only as head of the Mohammedan Church.

November 21.—Wilhelm Cuno forms a Cabinet to succeed that of Chancellor Wirth in Germany;

it includes Dr. Carl Cheinze as Minister of Justice, Baron von Rosenberg for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Heinrich Albert as Minister of the Treasury.

November 23.—King George opens his fourth Parliament at London, with Andrew Bonar Law (Conservative) as Premier and Ramsey Macdonald (Labor) leading the Opposition.

November 24.—Premier Bonar Law receives a majority of 104 in a test vote of 239 to 135.

Erskine Childers, noted Irish Republican leader is executed at Dublin by the Free State authorities.

The Greek Cabinet, headed by Alexandre Zaimis, resigns after only two months in office.

November 25.—The Italian Chamber, voting 225 to 90, grants Premier Mussolini and his Cabinet full power to adopt any bureaucratic or financial reforms desired up to December 31, 1923.

November 27.—The House of Commons passes the Irish Constitution bill through second reading without incident.

The Chilean Senate votes 16 to 14 to adopt the Tacna-Arica protocol with reservations.

November 28.—In Greece, five former Cabinet officers (Messrs. Gounaris, Baltazis, Theotokis, Protopapadakis, and Stratos) and General Hadjenestis, are convicted of high treason by court martial, fined heavily, and executed by firing-squad for complicity in the Smyrna disaster.

November 29.—The Egyptian Cabinet resigns, disagreeing with the British over the Sudan, the Egyptians desiring the new Constitution to specify that the King of Egypt is sovereign of the Sudan and that the Sudan is integrally Egyptian.

December 2.—In Greece, Prince Andrew is exiled and degraded in the army for his part in the Smyrna defeat.

December 3.—In Switzerland a proposed tax on capital is defeated on referendum; the tax would have applied to fortunes over 80,000 francs.

December 4.—The British House of Lords passes the Irish Constitution bill; Timothy Healy is appointed Governor General of the Irish Free State.

December 6.—The Irish Free State comes into official being in place of the Provisional Government, and the Dail Eireann gives place to the Parliament; President Cosgrave and his Cabinet take the new oath.

December 7.—At Dublin, Deputy Sean Hales is killed on the street by Republican gunmen and Deputy Speaker Patrick O'Maille is seriously wounded.

December 8.—The Irish Free State executes four rebel leaders in reprisal for the murder of Sean Hales; they are, Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, Joseph McKelvey, and Richard Barrett.

December 9.—The Polish National Assembly elects as President Gabriel Narutowicz, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, to succeed President Pilsudski.

December 10.—Dr. Adnan Bey is appointed by the Turkish Nationalist Assembly at Angora to govern Constantinople, succeeding Rafet Pasha, who goes to Eastern Thrace as military Governor.

December 11.—The Irish Free State Parliament organization is completed by swearing in the Senate, composed of sixty members.

December 12.—The Duke of Abercorn is sworn in at Belfast as Governor of Northern Ireland under appointment by King George.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 15.—England pays a second \$50,000,000 on account of interest on her \$4,277,000,000 war debt to the United States.

November 16.—Five foreign powers present a demand upon the Peking Government in China for immediate release of missionaries captured by bandits in Honan Province.

November 20.—The Near East peace conference begins at Lausanne, Switzerland, to settle the Greco-Turkish war and the freedom of the Straits.

November 21.—M. Georges Clemenceau, France's war premier, addresses a large audience (4,000 persons) at New York in the Metropolitan Opera House, presenting his views of the European situation and America's duty.

November 22.—At Lausanne, the Turks demand a plebiscite in Western Thrace, and the Bulgarians renew their request for an outlet to the Aegean through Western Thrace; the Turkish demand is refused, while the Bulgarian request is considered favorably.

November 23.—At Lausanne, a twenty-kilometer demilitarized zone between Turkey in Europe and Western Thrace is suggested by the Turks.

November 25.—Ambassador Child presents the American program at Lausanne, telling the Allies that the United States is opposed to secret treaties and demands the "open door" in Turkey, claiming that victory gave the Allies no special privileges in Turkish territory.

November 27.—The Turks demand an indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 from Greece; the Mosul oil and Anatolian frontier questions are postponed.

December 1.—At Lausanne, Ismet Pasha admits that 1,000,000 Greeks ordered banished from Turkey have had their time extended from November 30 to December 15; and he advises that Greeks ought to leave Constantinople.

December 4.—At Lausanne, the Straits question is debated, with England seeking freedom for passage of all vessels of peace and war, with no fortifications, Turkey calling for defensive measures with free passage for commerce.

A Central American conference on disarmament is opened at Washington, with representatives from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador; Secretary Hughes and Sumner Welles act as American delegates.

December 6.—At Lausanne, Ambassador Child informs the conference that America will not permit

the Black Sea to become a Russian lake, that the Straits should be placed in the hands of Turkey under her promise to maintain freedom without armament; Tchitcherin, for Russia, says to Lord Curzon that international control of the Straits "is more prejudicial to commerce than Turkish control."

At the Baltic disarmament conference, in Moscow, Russia offers to reduce her army of about a million men to 200,000 and to cut her navy to one-fourth its pre-war size.

December 7.—The United States announces at Lausanne its disapproval of the proposal to deport from Constantinople Greek residents who now seem to number only 150,000; 1,000,000 Greeks are reported having left Turkey, most of them during the last ten weeks.

M. Clemenceau attends a luncheon at the White House, which President Harding gives in his honor, with a number of prominent officials as the other guests.

The Baltic disarmament conference adopts four of seven clauses in the Polish treaty draft, and the parties agree to abstain from armed aggression against each other and to settle all disputes by peaceful means; the treaty must be ratified within six months and deposited at Christiania by the signatories.

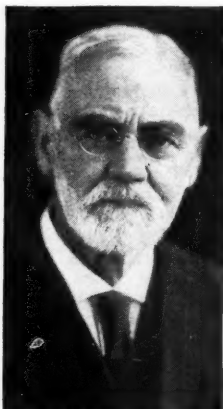
December 8.—Baron Hayashi, for Japan, concurs at Lausanne in American opinion on the Straits question and freedom of commerce on the Black Sea; Turkey suggests guarantees against surprise attacks upon the Straits, limitation of warships on the Black Sea, liberty of passage of merchant vessels in war and peace.

December 9.—At London, Premiers Law Poincaré, Mussolini, and Theunys confer on reparations, Mr. Law offering to cancel some war debts, suggesting cessation of force against Ger-

many, a moratorium to permit her to reestablish her finances, and a reduction of reparations to from 30 to 40 billion gold marks; M. Poincaré offers to accept a two-year moratorium, if France receives satisfactory guarantees; while Belgium proposes an international loan to Germany of 5,000,000,000 gold marks a year for seven years—35,000,000,000 which would represent the total reparations indemnity.

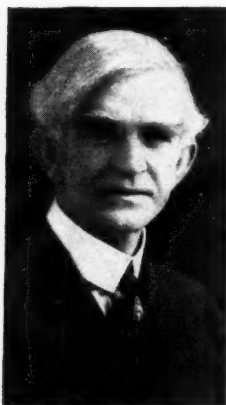
December 10.—Japan officially restores the former German territory of Kiau-chau to China through Wang Cheng-ting, Chinese Foreign Minister; the Chinese flag is raised over Tsing-tao.

Germany apologizes for insults to Allied investigators at Passau and Ingolstadt, offering to pay the fine of 1,000,000 marks.



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JAMES R. MANN, OF
ILLINOIS

(Who died on November 30, while serving his thirteenth term as a member of the House of Representatives, from Illinois, his native State. He was 66 years old. When he entered Congress he was a successful Chicago attorney)



FRANK BACON, THE
ACTOR

(Who created the character of "Lightnin'" in the drama of that name, and played the part 2000 times within the last four years. He was known as a man who achieved the fullest measure of success late in life. He died in Chicago on November 19, at the age of 58)

December 11.—The Conference on Reparations at London ends without success, Poincaré demanding occupation of the Ruhr towns of Essen and Bochum; but Bonar Law prevents rupture of the Entente by adjourning the conference until January 2 at Paris.

December 12.—Premier Bonar Law declares that the Balfour note still stands and tells the House of Commons that the only justification for a reduction of war debts owed to Britain below those owed by England to the United States lies in a permanent settlement of the whole reparations problem.

Ismet Pasha suggests that all minorities should quit Turkey and that she be trusted, and Mr. Child states that the world expects and will require tolerance and justice and concession on the part of the Turkish Government.

December 13.—All American missionaries held by Chinese bandits are released.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 15.—The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, is opened at New York City; the collection of 1,800,000 specimens contains typical objects of Indian life and culture from North, South, and Central America.

November 22.—At Dalconite, near Birmingham, Ala., more than 100 men are killed or injured in a dust explosion in a coal mine.

November 24.—The Bethlehem Steel Company merges with the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company; the consolidation commanding the second largest steel production in the country.

December 8.—Christmas funds amounting to \$190,000,000 are distributed among their 5,000,000 contributors by 5000 banks in America; the money is deposited weekly and drawn out in total with interest at the holiday season.

At Astoria, Oregon, fire destroys \$15,000,000 worth of property in the business section.

December 11.—Two midshipmen are expelled from Annapolis for hazing, and three others are set back a year.

OBITUARY

November 16.—Edward Livermore Burlingame, editor of *Scribner's Magazine* for twenty-seven years, until 1914, 74. . . . Col. Austin C. Chase, former postmaster of Syracuse, N. Y., 88. . . . Dr. Albert Henry Buck, noted aurist, 80.

November 17.—William Graves Sharp, of Elyria, O., former Ambassador to France, 63. . . . Gen. Luke E. Wright, of Memphis, Tenn., former Secretary of War, Governor-General of the Philippines, and Ambassador to Japan, 76.

November 19.—Frank Bacon, much-loved actor who created "Lightnin'," 58.

November 22.—Andre Tridon, noted psychoanalyst, 45.

November 23.—Baron Sonnino, former Italian Premier, Foreign Minister during the Great War, 75. . . . Henry Nathaniel Cary, of Chicago, well-known editor, 64.

November 24.—George Henry Story, artist, once curator of paintings at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City, 87. . . . John H. Gilmour, actor, 65. . . . Gustave Lamothe, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench at Montreal.



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THE LATE JOHN WANAMAKER, OF PHILADELPHIA

(Mr. Wanamaker, who died December 12, was born July 11, 1838, and had therefore completed half of his eighty-fifth year. For seventy years he had been connected with retail trade, going into business in his own name at Philadelphia in 1861. Subsequently he built up immense department stores in New York as well as in Philadelphia. He was Postmaster-General in Harrison's Administration, and long active in reform politics as well as in religious work. Almost universal tribute was paid to his memory last month.)

November 28.—Bishop James Mills Thoburn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, noted Indian and Malayan missionary, 86.

November 30.—William Goodsell Rockefeller, director of many corporations, 52. . . . James R. Mann, of Illinois, for twenty-five years a prominent Republican member of the House of Representatives, 65. . . . Brig. Gen. James Nicholas Wheelan, U.S.A., retired, 84. . . . Samuel Marx, Congressman-elect from New York City, 55.

December 1.—Maj. Gen. Charles Francis Roe, for fourteen years (1898-1912) commander of the New York National Guard, 84. . . . Charles Franklin Emerson, dean emeritus of Dartmouth College, 79.

December 5.—Andrew McLean, editor of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) *Citizen* for twenty-six years, 73.

December 7.—Dr. J. Montgomery Mosher, a nerve specialist of Albany, N. Y., 58.

December 10.—Clement Lindley Wragge, New Zealand astronomer who organized the Tasmanian meteorological service in 1895, 70.

December 12.—John Wanamaker, noted Philadelphia merchant, 84. . . . Dr. M. Royal Whitenack, Newark, N. J., child specialist, 47.

December 13.—Dr. Arthur Wesley Dow, distinguished artist and authority on Japanese prints, 68. . . . William Jared Clark, electric railway pioneer, 68. . . . Robert Powrie, noted Wisconsin sculptor, 80.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



THE ELECTIONS IN AMERICA

HARDING: "I think I will ask again after the patient—otherwise I will get a scolding at home."
[The sign on the doorbell reads: "Please do not ring, patient's condition serious."]

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



GETTING IN TOUCH AGAIN

UNCLE SAM: "Hello! Is that Europe? We've been cut off, it seems; but now I want to speak to you."

From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



CAUSING A DRAUGHT AT LAUSANNE

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



"NEW LAMPS FOR OLD"—A MODERN VERSION OF ALADDIN AND HIS WONDERFUL LAMP

From the *Express* (London, England)



THE NEW BRITISH PREMIER AND HIS TASK

LABOR: "Something must be done to start the car." -
BONAR LAW: "Well, take your coat off. Talking doesn't help in a job like this."

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)

[The real problem before the new government in Britain relates to unemployment. If that could be solved other vexing questions might not seem so difficult]



THE CONQUEROR

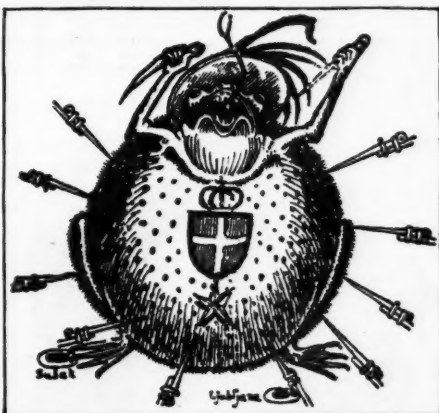
"The millions may be lost, but I have the scalp of the old world!"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)



AN ITALIAN VIEW OF THE EXCHANGE PROBLEM

MUSSOLINI, NEW ITALIAN PREMIER (to the American Dollar and the English Pound Sterling): "If you wish to shake my hand, come down a few steps."



ITALIAN FASCISM STOPS EXPANDING WHEN IT MEETS THE JUGOSLAV BAYONETS

From *Jugoslavijs* (Leibach, Jugoslavia)



A FRENCH VIEW OF UNCLE SAM

The greatest disinterestedness, the largest cannon, the greatest egotism in the world—From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



MOTHER SWITZERLAND IN THE SERVICE OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET

THE BOLSHEVIK: "Good, Mother! Under our instructions you will soon learn the knack of it."

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)

[It had been proposed to levy a tax on capital in Switzerland; and the capitalist is shown as being robbed by the Government. At a referendum of the Swiss people on December 3, however, the proposal was rejected]



A POPULAR SPORT IN EUROPE

From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)

[This Austrian cartoon carries a suggestion that the French premier, Poincaré, is slipping and about to follow Facta and Lloyd George out of public office]

THE month under survey here was not notable for problems solved, nor for decisions reached, in Europe's international relations. The tendency to criticize Uncle



REVOLUTION IN ITALY

MUSSOLINI, the new Italian Premier: "We are against Bolshevism, against Social Democracy, against the Catholic Worker's Party, against the King of Italy."

KING VICTOR EMANUEL: "But what are you FOR?"

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



BOLSHEVIK ADVICE TO TURKEY

"Don't be afraid to tackle him again! Remember, I'll challenge him if he bests you this time"

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



ADVICE THROUGH THE WINDOW
From the *World* (New York)



LOOKING ON, AT THE CONFERENCE ON TURKEY—From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)



CLEMENCEAU TELLS UNCLE SAM ALL ABOUT IT
By Hanny, *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul, Minn.)



THE REMARKABLE EFFECT OF A LITTLE OIL
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)

Sam continues; and when there seemed to be signs of America's awakening interest, the European cartoonist was hardly gentle in his pictorial comment. Portions of the American press, also, poke fun at our policy of "observing" conferences in Europe rather than participating in the work of adjustment.



WHY NOT SIFT THE IMMIGRANTS BEFORE THEY SAIL FOR AMERICA?
From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco, Cal.)



THE OLD HORSE COULD BE LED TO THE WATER—BUT HE COULDN'T BE MADE TO DRINK!

From the Tribune © (New York)

[The farmer standing by suggests to President Harding that the horse might be tractable if he were given some oats!]



MORE PIRACY

From the News (Dayton, Ohio)



IS THERE ENOUGH WATER TO FLOAT THE GOOD SHIP "SUBSIDY"?

From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul, Minn.)



ON THIN ICE—From the Tribune (Sioux City, Ia.)



THE WHIP HAND

From the American © (New York)



ANOTHER INSTANCE OF WHERE THE THIRD ONE MAKES A CROWD
From the Press (Cleveland, Ohio)



SPOILING THE LAUNCHING PARTY
From the Tribune (South Bend, Ind.)

The Administration Shipping bill—for which Congress had been called into special session on November 20, and which duly passed the House—was last month set aside in the Senate in order that action might more promptly be taken on legisla-

tion to aid the farmer. Meanwhile the so-called "agricultural bloc" in the Senate has become more formidable, and it is claimed that this larger group—variously called "radicals" or "progressives"—actually holds the balance of power.



CAN THE RADICAL RIDE BOTH MOUNTS
—THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT AND THE
DEMOCRATIC DONKEY?
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



MUTINY AGAINST THE OLD GUARD
From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

EUROPE AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. 1922 AND AFTER

WITH the present article it is necessary to do two things: to look backward over a year which has closed, since I am writing in the final days of December, and to look forward at the year which will be opening as this magazine falls into the hands of its readers. What, after all, has been the meaning of 1922 and what, as a consequence of recent history, are the prospects of 1923?—these are the questions which I shall try to discuss, placing the emphasis, after all, upon the future.

Now, taking the dying year as a whole, it cannot be denied that it has been in the main the most discouraging since the end of the war. There has been a steady disintegration, a disintegration in many nations and a disintegration in international relations. To take two examples: The Turk, rising from defeat, has inflicted upon the West a blow not equalled since the sons of Othman ceased to press northward and westward and the Turkish Empire passed from conquest to deliquescence. Again, in Italy, sheer weariness with official ineptitude has resulted in a revolution which suggests the medieval rather than the modern and gives basis for grave apprehensions in the future.

But it is neither in the Balkan nor in the Italian Peninsula that the most disturbing episodes have taken place; actually we find ourselves as the year closes facing what must be considered the gravest of Franco-German crises since 1919, for it is marked both by desperation and impotence on both sides. France, like Germany, has become in a sense the victim of the tide running ineluctably toward that supreme catastrophe, which at least for Britain and America is expressed in the obvious likelihood of new military operations and fresh economic anarchy.

As I write, one more international conference, that at London, has ended in a

failure only partially and quite inadequately covered by the fiction of a friendly adjournment to a new and fixed date. The truth is that a new British Ministry, undisguisedly more friendly to France than that of Lloyd George, has been unable to find common ground with the continuing ministry of Poincaré and as a consequence a military expedition to the Ruhr is one of the things to be looked for early in the new year.

Looking again at 1922 as a whole, it must be appreciated that the year has been marked by a general reaction which has culminated in the fall of Lloyd George, the elimination of the last survivor among the giants of Paris, and the total obscuration of those liberal or quasi-liberal ideas which were set forth at Paris and for a moment, while hope was still strong, pleased and encouraged a weary world.

The Turkish episode is a fair example of the situation to which we have come. Hundreds of thousands of Christian inhabitants of Asia Minor, the descendants of Hellenic populations who dwelt upon the eastern shores of the Egean at the dawn of history, have been evicted from their homes and one of the greatest and most tragic migrations of any age has begun. And in the presence of this spectacle, with the Turk returning to Europe and driving before his triumphant army untold thousands of helpless exiles, the western world has found itself powerless to act or even to discuss action.

You have, it seems to me, whether it be in regarding the Turkish affair or the Franco-German problem, whether it be in dealing with international affairs or with the grim economic questions of most European nations, to appreciate a certain helplessness on the part of statesmanship and a corresponding hopelessness among the unhappy populations. It is idle to presume that things are righting themselves or that there is any visible evidence that they will.

I found on the Continent in March and April a sense of despair absent in the bitterest days of the war and those who return in December only report the intensification of this feeling of depression.

In the larger view there is an unmistakable sense abroad that events have escaped the control of statesmen and of governments, that a certain sinister and overmastering fate seems to be blocking the feeble efforts at reintegration, that Europe is sinking, visibly sinking, and that as it declines, while new difficulties arise, the old remain not diminished but rather increased.

More and more as days pass the question is being asked, not in one country, but in most, not by one group of party politicians or national representatives, but by men of all shades of partisan and national faiths, whether Europe can save itself now, whether the European civilization which we have known can by some superhuman effort rescue itself, or whether we are seeing the onset of another such decay as attended the downfall of Rome and the shipwreck of ancient civilization.

And one is bound to say that this suspicion, to give it no more definite description, has markedly spread within the past twelve months. Germany, which deliberately embarked upon a policy of evasion and of inflation to escape reparation payments, has now arrived where the process, at first voluntary, has seemingly passed the point at which those who launched it can arrest it and German finance and economic life threaten to sink to the level of conditions in derelict Austria.

In Great Britain, where statesmanship has been most competent, at least on the economic side, where the populations have consented to the greatest sacrifices in tax-paying, the process of restoration has been halted by the prostration in other lands and, despite British efforts to stabilize at home, upwards of a million and a half of men are still without employment and dependent upon government aid, because there is no market abroad for their products. Moreover, the new Prime Minister, visibly despairing of the restoration of Continental markets in any useful time, is undertaking an imperial conference with the obvious hope of finding within the empire some market for British production.

This means, in general, that British policy, which for nearly four years has concentrated its strength upon the restoration

of the European markets, is frankly abandoning hope that this policy can prevail and is envisaging a British retirement from the Continent almost as complete as that of the United States from Europe and is feverishly striving to find within the Empire some way of stimulating markets and thus of arriving at the absorption of British manufactures and the reduction of British unemployment. Yet there are not lacking those who declare openly that this too is an illusion.

But in examining the present posture of European affairs we have first of all to turn once more to the German situation and its relation to France, to Great Britain and to Franco-British as well as Franco-German relations generally. And it is well to perceive at the outset that we have arrived at the supreme crisis. Things must now worsen or brighten with small delay, for the mere continuation of existing conditions spells ruin for Germany, for France and for most if not all Continental countries. What exists cannot endure; the whole European edifice has become so shaky that it must be propped up promptly or it will fall of its own weight.

II. THE OLD DEBATE

Now, what has been the year's harvest in the matter of the German problem? Patently the Anglo-French Entente has sunk to nothing. We began the year, or, rather, to be exact, we ended the previous year, with the promise of Cannes. For a moment it seemed as if Lloyd George and Briand had at last arrived at a basis of understanding and accommodation. Yet almost instantaneously events at Paris recalled Briand, precipitated his fall, and brought Poincaré, committed in advance to resist Lloyd George and to fight for the rights of France.

The arrival of Poincaré ended the rule of Lloyd George in Europe. The conference of Genoa marked the final collapse of those ideas which had been shared by Wilson and Lloyd George at Paris and were based upon the primary notion of some form of international association replacing the old system of alliances and carrying with it the abandonment of the policy of the armed nation.

At Genoa the alliance between Russia and Germany, proclaimed in the Treaty of Rapallo, awakened the apprehension of every state having a common frontier with

either Russia or Germany or having realized in the Paris settlement territorial gains which would be called into question as a result of Russo-German success. The whole Wilsonian idea—the whole Anglo-Saxon idea, to be more precise—which relied upon general agreements between victors and vanquished, which abolished force and relied upon reason and good faith, was rejected at the hands of the Continent at Genoa.

Instead one saw the marked tendency of the Little Entente and Poland to draw close to France, while Belgium inevitably drifted in the same direction. When Genoa was over, the Georgian conception of a Pan-European association with Germany and Russia as charter members had gone into the discard; Britain, not France, found herself isolated and the continental repudiation of the British and American conception was undeniable.

But it was not less clear that the British on their side were unwilling to accept the continental viewpoint. France through Poincaré had said to the British, "Give us an alliance which will insure us against a German attack and guarantee us your aid in the collection of our claims against Germany; draw Italy, Belgium and the Little Entente with Poland into the compact and we shall have an aggregation of powers capable not alone of maintaining peace but of abolishing all German hope of challenging the settlements which have been made."

But the British through Lloyd George retorted that this was only to reproduce the conditions of 1914 and the preceding years; that alliances and armaments meant war; that the alternative was association among all nations. Accordingly, the British refused France a guarantee, reiterated the British protest against armaments, and in a very real sense retired from the Continent. Lloyd George had failed where Mr. Wilson before him had failed! Henceforth it was clear that Anglo-Saxon ideas were to lose, not to gain, adherents on the Continent.

Then, with startling rapidity, came the terrible episodes in the Near East. The British had rejected the French claims for support on the Rhine and the French plea for British backing in reparations. England had declared against the idea of force applied to the Treaty of Versailles. But suddenly, not on the Rhine but at the Bosphorus, not in the case of the Treaty of Versailles but in that of Sèvres, force was required and the appeal was launched not from Paris but

from London for military strength to resist the Turk, challenging another detail in the Paris settlement.

And from one end of Europe to the other the passionate appeal of Downing Street fell upon deaf ears. French and Italian troops were withdrawn from the presence of the victorious Turks and the British left standing alone at Chanak. Meantime Bucharest and Belgrade, similarly invited to send troops, declined. On top of all Lloyd George, because he seemed to the British public to have risked war, fell, and his fall was followed closely by a decisive defeat at the polls, foreshadowed when I wrote my last article and yet proving in the election returns even more complete than seemed then likely.

What has followed is the comedy of Lausanne, where eminent statesmen, keenly aware that their respective countries will not back them in any policy which might mean war, have sought to cover their actual impotence by cunning insistence upon abstract doctrines and paper principles, while necessarily if noiselessly surrendering to the Turk in every vital particular. The measure of European anarchy and impotence, as I have said before, is to be had at Lausanne, where most of Europe has been forced to yield to the arrogant and brutal demands of a bankrupt and half-dismembered country which can not boast a single ship of war or an army equal in size or efficiency to that of any one of the smaller Balkan states in 1912.

Moreover, this very impotence has had its repercussion from one end of the East to the other. Islam has been stirred to its depths by the Turkish success. All the colonies and mandates of the Allies from Beirut to Bagdad and from Aleppo to Jerusalem have been placed in jeopardy. More than this, it is a matter of common knowledge in Europe now that within a brief time British troops must leave not only Mosul but Bagdad, that France is reducing her garrisons in Syria at a moment when large reinforcements would be required if the country were to be held.

Unless all signs fail, the new year will perhaps in its early months see the British back at Basra and the French at Beirut, that is, practically out of Mesopotamia, Syria and even Palestine, while those Christian minorities which supplied at least a basis for western concern in Near Eastern affairs will either be exterminated or eliminated from the Turkish Empire.

III. THE CONFERENCE OF LONDON

Turning now to more recent events, to the history of last month, the outstanding circumstance is plainly the Conference of London, the fifteenth or the sixteenth gathering since Paris (one loses count) which has had to deal with German reparations and French policy. At this conference, moreover, one could plainly perceive the situation. For four years the Allied doctors have disagreed as to treatment and while they have argued the German patient has sunk into weakness economic and political.

At London this time there was no longer any question as to the present inability of Germany to pay anything substantial, so at last there was agreement that some sort of a moratorium was inevitable. But there was still the question of what should be done to insure German payment after the period of grace and what partial payment could and should be demanded in this time.

Moreover, if the German situation had worsened, no one could fail to see that that of France had become critical. In four years the French have expended upwards of \$10,000,000,000 on rebuilding their devastated area and paying the pensions to their war-mutilated. They have raised this sum by domestic loans, but at least \$5,000,000,000, probably much more, must still be raised to complete the task and French taxpayers can no longer bear the burden of the interest charges on the loans already made, let alone finding principal and interest for an additional \$5,000,000,000.

France must have money, then, just as certainly as Germany must have a moratorium, and since Germany cannot pay money, France proposed certain productive guarantees, that is, she demanded the right to seize certain valuable German assets, which would pay something during the German moratorium and constitute a sure guarantee of ultimate German payment after the delay which was to be granted in the reparations payments.

The British, on their side, proposed at once the cancellation of the French debt to Britain. Thus Bonar Law modified the stupid policy presented in the Balfour Note—the policy of holding the Continent to pay Britain as long and as far as America held Britain. This British gesture awakened French applause, but unhappily it carried no immediate relief to France, since France was actually paying nothing to Britain and thus

would neither get nor retain a penny of the huge sums it needed, nor did it seem a concession sufficient to warrant abandonment of all productive guarantees.

The French were prepared to agree to a sweeping reduction of the sum of German reparations, to cut their own share in half; they were ready to agree to a moratorium, but they were not ready to surrender all payment and all effective hold upon Germany. You have to see the thing as it is. Granted that Germany may be ruined if France enters the Ruhr, France is unmistakably doomed to fiscal bankruptcy, provided she does not get now from Germany without delay, if not money, at least something of value on which she can base loans or from which she can derive revenue.

But the British under the leadership of Bonar Law are naturally not less opposed to French occupation of the Ruhr than they were under the guidance of Lloyd George, since it means for them still greater prostration of the Continental markets, since it promises more European disorder and greater domestic unemployment. And rightly or wrongly they argue that it will not bring any substantial pecuniary profit to France.

One is then thrown back upon the familiar dilemma: If Germany gets a moratorium and a guarantee against French coercion her recovery is probable and may be rapid. But who shall say that when she recovers she will pay? So far her bad faith has been notorious and even to London the new Cuno Ministry sent proposals which awakened derision. And what of the future of France if, while Germany, blessed with a moratorium and a guarantee against France, recovers, France goes bankrupt as a consequence of having to restore the ruins made by the German aggressor?

Right here the London Conference broke up, as it was bound to break up. Not Poincaré, not any French Premier, could survive an agreement to which he assented in the name of his country—an agreement which insured the rehabilitation of Germany while it left France condemned to collapse under the weight of the burden which resulted from German destruction. For Poincaré the price of the moratorium was British consent to French occupation of the Ruhr. Without this his own political career was ended and the outlook of his country bleak in the extreme.

It is not that the French believe that pos-

session of the Ruhr will directly yield huge revenues. Even they know better than this—that is, the informed classes. But they do believe that possession of the region which is the foundation of German wealth and the basis of the fortunes and personal influence of the great German industrialists, like Stinnes, would enable the French to coerce the industrialists into making terms and thus into contributing at least indirectly to French revenue.

But for the British this means one of two things—either the prostration of the whole German industrial world, with accompanying losses to British trade and expansion of British unemployment, or an eventual combination of French and German industrialists, of French iron and German coal, which might constitute a challenge to British industry of colossal extent. That the former is vastly more likely than the latter is patent, but that both are terrifying possibilities is unmistakable.

There is, too, the traditional British apprehension that when the French armies begin to march something of the old Napoleonic spirit will be stirred, that France, military master of the Continent, may again become a danger politically, therefore that a new invasion of Germany is to be opposed at all hazards and under all conditions.

At the same time, one must recognize the change that has come to British policy with the departure of Lloyd George and the coming of Bonar Law. It remains true that not only is British opinion almost solidly against French military action in Germany, but also that no British ministry can formally consent to, much less participate in, a forward movement to the Ruhr. So far the new and the old are at one.

But—and the point is vital—where Lloyd George was prepared to and did fight French proposals to the uttermost limit, Bonar Law is likely to content himself with nothing more than frank objection. He will in all probability stand aside if France determines to go into the Ruhr, recognizing that opposition now would have to take one of two lines—either war, which would be unthinkable, or far-reaching concessions to France which go beyond limits which British public opinion would sanction.

Britain would still save Germany and Europe from consequences which it believes will be disastrous. Lloyd George and Bonar Law hold substantially the same view as to the unwisdom of French military action, but

Bonar Law appreciates that this action has now become well-nigh inevitable as a consequence in the main of German bad faith. Germany might have been saved, might even now be saved, if anyone could trust her, but always, when the effort to save her is made, some German act disarms not her enemies but her champions.

And so, assuming for a moment that the failure at London will be followed by a failure in Paris, when the conference reassembles in the first days of January (which is at least a reasonable assumption) what is likely to happen is that Britain, having expressed her opinion, will stand aside and leave France to deal with Germany as she chooses. This means in a very real sense that Britain will wash her hands of continental affairs, convinced that matters there must take their course, for the time at least.

Such a course has always been inevitable unless the United States were prepared to join Britain in a policy of stabilizing the continent, a policy of imposing Anglo-Saxon ideas, of giving Anglo-American guarantees and loans to France and thereby relieving French pressure upon Germany. In the long run it was inevitable that if France were not reassured and aided, she would not consent to the restoration of Germany, that she would not sit by, condemned to fiscal bankruptcy and ultimate political and military peril, while Germany was rescued from the consequences of German acts.

The Lloyd George idea, the Wilson idea, was one of joint responsibility of Britain and America in Europe; both statesmen believed that our combined resources and power should be employed to create and maintain a stable situation while the Continental nations recovered from the material and moral effects of the war. When we quit Europe, Lloyd George endeavored to pursue the same policy, but he refused, in pursuing it, to meet the demands of France. He was unwilling and he was perhaps unable to assist France as France desired, while he still insisted upon German salvation.

In the end, therefore, he lost all influence in France, became to the French mind an enemy, and his policy was completely wrecked at Genoa. Bonar Law and those about him feel far more friendly to France than Lloyd George did, and are ready to make far more considerable concessions, such, for example, as the cancellation of debts, but they are not ready and cannot

ever be ready formally to consent to new French military measures. What they must do, then, is to step aside and, since they cannot persuade France, permit her to take that course which she seems determined to take.

At London Bonar Law presented no program because he could find no formula, which would combine French and British views. When he had suggested the cancellation of debts he was done, because beyond this his country was not ready to go, but, welcome as this proposal was to France, it did not offer the promise of a single additional franc to meet French burdens or the smallest assurance of protection against a Germany restored but still unregenerate.

IV. WHAT IS COMING?

What, then, is coming? What will be the consequences of the failure of London, which at least suggests a subsequent failure at Paris? The situation is too grim and too critical to invite forecast or warrant prophecy. But it is plain that we are now squarely confronting a question which has long been rising, but now must have one of two answers within a few weeks. At least if one cannot answer the question one can sketch the two possible answers.

To take the best first, it is still possible that some accommodation will be found for British and French differences of opinion. I do not believe it will be done, because it seems to me the differences are too fundamental, but it remains possible to the end. Conceivably, Germany, under the shadow of the gravest menace since the Armistice, will now at last abandon her policy of evasion, subterfuge, and come forward frankly with some program of fulfilment which will enable Poincaré or some new French Premier to abandon the policy of coercion.

In the same way, a real German proposal might permit the British to give France assurances of support and at the same time exert pressure upon France to abandon her present policy. The thing is just barely conceivable. Moreover, it is by no means beyond the limits of possibility that Poincaré himself, if he still insists upon a drastic policy, may fall and give way to some one who is freer from past commitments and thus would be enabled to adopt a more moderate policy.

Until the January conference in Paris is

over, then, there will remain a faint glimmer of hope that the deluge may be avoided. I say perfectly frankly that such information as reaches me from Europe does not tend to encourage optimism. On the contrary, most Englishmen, for example, with whom I have talked in recent days agree that France must now move; that the situation is hopeless this side of French occupation of the Ruhr and that such occupation may easily unchain all the forces of German nationalism; that we may have a deliberate effort to repeat the episode of 1813, when Germany rose against Napoleon, and that the consequences may be such a devastation of Germany as the Thirty Years War brought.

After all, the main difficulty lies in the fact that the British, French and German governments are all the prisoners of their respective publics and political forces. It is not inconceivable that Bonar Law, Cuno and Poincaré could agree upon a policy which would be reasonable and on the whole feasible. But the trouble is that if Cuno made the concessions which are inevitable he would be turned out of office in an hour, that if Bonar Law gave France the irreducible minimum of guarantees, he might be compromised despite his present majority, while Poincaré would take the road of Briand if he adopted the policy of his predecessor.

The same situation exists on Capitol Hill in Washington. If you go to Congress and hear what men talk there, you will perceive that no Administration, no Secretary of State, however accurate their views of the European situation, could possibly apply these views, because Congress, on which in the last analysis they must depend, has adopted and violently champions ideas which preclude all useful action and while almost blatantly proclaiming devotion to peace and championship of progress actually condemns their government to sterile negotiation.

The difficulty in the situation, the fundamental difficulty, lies in the destruction of international confidence by war and by the terrible debates which have come with alleged peace. No one does or can trust the Germans, whose course since the Armistice has been not one degree less dishonorable than before. The Frenchman regards the Englishman as having been at all times ready to sacrifice an ally for an enemy, to the end that he might profit in trade, while the Briton sees the Frenchman deliberately

wrecking Europe to advance military and political ambitions.

As for the American, he sees Europe as mad, given over to the pursuit of insane objectives, eager to transfer European burdens to American shoulders but totally unwilling to listen to any moderating advice or adopt any American views. And American politicians, like French, like British, like German, whatever they believe as to the facts, feel themselves bound to ignore all that conflict with popular beliefs and emotions.

German leaders, as contrasted with the mass of the German people and their representatives, know that Germany must in the end pay or France will invade. But they also know that if they advocate payment and bow to the necessities of the situation, they will be thrown out of office by a public resolved not to pay and convinced that payment can be avoided. They know that invasion of the Ruhr can only be avoided by some fulfilment, but they also know that any policy of fulfilment means for them political ruin and they are more afraid of that than of invasion.

The British situation differs in a degree. Doubtless Bonar Law and those about him know that the hope of restraining France lies in giving France physical guarantees and material aid against possible German attack on the one hand and fiscal bankruptcy on the other. But they know also that the British public is resolved against a repetition of the policy of alliances which it believes precipitated the World War and got Britain involved in it. Therefore, knowing the remedy, they are unable to apply it.

As for Poincaré and every other Frenchman who has held office since Clemenceau, beyond question all of them know that the occupation of the Ruhr will not bring money and may bring untold European anarchy and even ruin. But all of them face a public which is literally staggering under a burden imposed by German acts, by a German-made war conducted in a Teutonic fashion. They perceive that, so far, while they have raised \$10,000,000,000 to restore their ruins, Germany has paid France not more than \$200,000,000 and now seeks a moratorium and an escape from immediate and perhaps from eventual payments.

And if Poincaré or any other Frenchman consents that Germany shall escape bearing all burdens while France continues to sink to fiscal ruin because of her burdens which Germany is legally and morally bound to

bear, then Poincaré will go as Briand went and some one else will take his place. That is the plain truth of the matter and Poincaré knows it full well. A friend of mine returning from Switzerland reported that recently he was told that the Swiss view was that if Poincaré could find a formula to embrace French rights and French prospects, to enable him at one time to face facts and yet to escape the wrath of a public still blind to these facts, all might be still arranged. But where is the formula?

And so it is the settled belief of most of those Europeans in Washington best informed upon European matters that France will soon go to the Ruhr. She will go to the Ruhr because to the mass of the French people there seems no other possible course, because they still believe that such an excursion will bring money directly or indirectly and beyond all else will give France the power to coerce those industrial masters of Germany who have succeeded the militarists but have not abandoned their views or their methods.

My readers will recall that I have always written here my belief that in the end France would go into Germany unless she was able to obtain from her allies of the war some guarantees for her security in the future and some assistance in the collection of debts which were due her as a result of German aggressions and devastations. It would seem that we are now on the verge of such a French action. If it takes place no one is capable of foreseeing or forecasting the consequences, but everyone must appreciate the fact that it may lead to disasters so complete as to wreck Europe for a period of years, if not, as some Continental pessimists suggest, permanently.

While action is postponed there is still a chance, but no one can blink the fact that a new year opens with more appalling prospects than any since the outbreak of the World War itself. The alliance which won the war is dissolved. The conflicting interests and views of the allies have at last produced a situation where even the fiction of coöperation seems about to be abandoned. Each country, staggering under the weight of its own burdens, has concentrated its attention upon its own interests and, seeing these interests compromised by those of another country, has accused the offending country of all manner of crimes, from egoism and selfishness to militarism and imperialism.

I read in the British newspapers bitter criticisms of the French policy as one of wicked aggression. In the French papers British policy is castigated as cruelly and shamefully selfish. While American newspapers assail all Europe for adherence to wicked and outworn methods, all European journals assert or only slightly veil their belief that it is the deliberate selfishness of America in abandoning Europe which is responsible for the worst of the present trouble.

Now the truth is that none of these strictures is correct, that Britain, struggling with unemployment and taxation, is not crassly selfish but in the main justifiedly seeking to escape ruin; that France, bent under the terrific weight of her present material burdens and still confronted by the eventual peril of German attack, is similarly innocent of the things charged against her; while, whatever else one may say of the United States, our abandonment of Europe does not primarily rest upon total disregard for common humanity.

Yet all countries naturally stick to the convictions they hold of their neighbors. Each refuses steadfastly to moderate its views or shift its position. Each argues vehemently that its own view is morally right and the single sane vision and, while recriminations fly around, the situation daily worsens and the chance of rescue by cooperation lessens. Sometimes it seems as if those who come hereafter will be convinced that our generation, without regard to frontiers and nationalities, was smitten with blindness and condemned to ruin because of its consequent inability to recognize the simplest and most elemental of truths.

Yet, looking to the immediate future, if some of these truths are not recognized, no one can mistake the impending disasters.

V. CLEMENCEAU

And now I turn to the visit of Clemenceau because it bears directly upon what I have been saying. Why did Clemenceau come and what was his mission? His unofficial mission—because the Poincaré ministry looked upon the visit with frank hostility and if the President of the Republic still retained a friendly feeling for the man to whom he owed his later promotions, he was still unable to give more than passive assent.

When I talked with Clemenceau in Paris

he was still obviously puzzled and perhaps not a little angered by American policy and by the ever-swelling chorus of American denunciation of France. To him this was at once incredible and unjust. In his eyes America had abandoned France, had turned her back upon Europe, and having gone home and refused all assistance had substituted savage criticism for useful co-operation.

Now, what was the case of Clemenceau? When the Paris Conference assembled he represented the country which had borne the largest burden in the common alliance, had given the most lives and suffered the greatest material losses. His fellow countrymen demanded of him two things—that he obtain security against any new German aggression and that he get reparations for the destruction which had been wrought in northern France.

In the direction of security Frenchmen asked for the military frontier of the Rhine, not for the annexation of the territories between the left bank and the new frontiers of France and Belgium, but for some sort of military occupation which would give the French the barrier of the Rhine behind which to mobilize against a German attack and would insure, even if the barrier were forced, that the first hostilities would take place on German, not French soil and the devastation be in German not French fields and cities.

They asked also that France take guarantees for German payment, that France occupy German territory pending payment, as German armies had remained in eastern France until the indemnity of 1870-71 had been paid. These were the main theses of the French people and these were the result which Clemenceau had to obtain. Moreover, great as was his prestige at the moment, it was plain in advance that even this would not save him if he failed to satisfy the universal demand of France.

So Clemenceau demanded from Mr. Wilson and Lloyd George that France have the military frontier of the Rhine. He didn't have any profound personal conviction in the matter. He hasn't now, as I discovered in talking with him in Washington the other day. But there was the demand of his country and he had to consider it.

When the proposal was made, however, both Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson objected that this was to abandon the Fourteen Points and to create in fact a new

Alsace-Lorraine. Both, too, in turn offered in exchange the guarantees of their respective countries in case of a new German aggression, always with the limitation that their personal pledges would have to be subject to the action of their respective legislatures. I repeat that in his latest talk with me M. Clemenceau insisted that Mr. Wilson had at all times made clear that the ratification of the Senate would be necessary, that he could not give a promise for his country himself.

To Clemenceau this guarantee seemed infinitely more useful than the Rhine barrier, which he had never much believed in. He welcomed it and, as he says, "was happy" to take it in exchange for the thing he had asked. Yet it was always clear that this guarantee would not please many Frenchmen—soldiers like Foch who were thinking in military rather than political terms—and that if, by any accident, the guarantee were not in the end forthcoming, Clemenceau would be discredited.

In addition Clemenceau asked occupation of the Rhenish regions temporarily as a pledge of German performance—not French but Allied occupation, to be given up zone by zone as Germany paid. There was, too, a tacit understanding that if the guarantee of America and Britain were not forthcoming the French would stay, although this point is disputed.

When America repudiated the Treaty of Versailles and disowned the treaty of guarantee and Britain refused single-handed to undertake the guarantee, Clemenceau was politically ruined. He retired from office, was defeated for the Presidency, and to-day is more completely out of French affairs than Ex-President Wilson is removed from American. He is the Father of Victory no longer, but the man who "lost the peace."

You must see that Clemenceau staked everything upon Anglo-American coöperation—that he accepted Wilsonian ideas as to Rhine frontiers solely because of American promises; that he could and would have been obliged to insist upon the military frontier of the Rhine, but for the pledges which Wilson and Lloyd George gave, pledges which enabled him to confront Poincaré and Foch.

Now, I think this should somewhat explain his visit to America. He came primarily to see whether Americans were actually resolved to "leave France in the lurch," as he phrased it; whether, when he

had described the present situation in France and in Europe he would not be able to touch an American sense of responsibility. He sees, none more clearly, that Europe is sinking, that armies may soon be moving again, that the collapse in the Near East is symptomatic of much in western Europe, and he came to inquire if, in the presence of these facts as he stated them, America was still resolved to remain aloof from Europe.

He came naturally to plead the cause of France, to dissipate the legend of militarism which, applied to himself, was patently preposterous and, as directed against France, to his mind cruelly unjust. He came to state a case, not to urge American membership in the League of Nations, not to propose any specific American action or program, but at once to remove misconceptions of France in this country and to present a clear if terrifying picture of European conditions as they exist.

"It is all so simple," he said to me as he said to many of his audiences. Moreover, it was plain to anyone who spoke to him that he was pleasantly surprised to find how real was American friendship for France despite the superficial misunderstandings. There was bitterness in his heart when he set forth on his astonishing journey and that bitterness disappeared not to return, when he set foot in New York. There was bitterness in the things he thought to say, but he found no occasion to say them.

Yet after all you must see that his own situation was not without its tragedy. He has been assailed in America as in England as a militarist, although he has fought militarism from his youth; denounced as an imperialist, although the lesser Napoleon drove him into exile and sent his father to prison. He has been accused of insisting upon a Carthaginian peace, although he accepted an Anglo-American guarantee in place of the possession of the Rhine barrier demanded by his countrymen and was driven out of public office and lost popular regard when the guarantee was not forthcoming.

Since Benjamin Franklin went to Europe as the agent of the American people, just rising to freedom, there has been no embassy quite like that of Clemenceau. Franklin convinced France that the cause of the insurgent colonies was that of France. Clemenceau at least undertook to persuade Americans that the cause, not of France

alone but of Europe generally, was American, that the issue of war or peace in the world turned upon American action or abstention from action in this acute crisis.

His mission obviously relates itself to conditions as they now exist in Europe. His voice is the voice of all Europe when he affirms that only American intervention now can postpone or prevent the deluge. He appreciates the fact that Britain is following our example and retiring from the Continent, mainly because of our withdrawal, which leaves her unable alone to carry the burden. He knows that French advance in the Ruhr and permanent occupation of the Rhine barrier, with all the possible evil consequences to the world, the advance which seems inevitable, can only be avoided if in some fashion the association of France, Britain and America at Paris and in the war can be restored to its former status.

Thus Clemenceau's visit and appeal relate themselves instantly to the Conference of London, to the futile performance at Lausanne. It is in a sense the last authentic appeal from those who won the war and made the peace to those who have come after and repudiated the peace and to his mind compromised the victory. It is a last appeal for international coöperation at the precise moment when absence of co-operation points to international chaos.

Moreover, laying aside all discussion of the results of the Clemenceau visit in the United States, a matter which lies outside of my field of comment, it must be clear that the results in Europe may be decisive. If, for example, his visit makes it clear that America is determined to stay out of Europe, that, while criticizing French and continental policies, it will do nothing to assist in establishing other policies, then it is patent that the last hope or illusion of American aid will disappear. It is also clear that French action will no longer be delayed or prevented by the expectation of assistance predicated upon observation of American admonitions.

Clemenceau's appeal, as I see it, was the ultimate appeal of Europe reinforced by more official communications following the London failure and preceding the Paris meeting. If both obtain no response, no effective response, America will disappear from the European calculation and European events may move rapidly to that event which has long been impending.

VI. LAUSANNE AND ELSEWHERE

And now I must adjourn to next month discussion of events at Lausanne and at Moscow, where two important conferences are taking place. Yet both are, after all, minor. The fate of Europe for a long time in the future turns upon the settlement of, or failure to settle, the German situation. The larger question of whether the World War can be liquidated in any relatively brief period, whether there can be a return to normal conditions shortly, or whether for a decade and perhaps for a generation we are condemned to face political anarchy and economic paralysis, must now have an answer in a brief time.

In recent days affairs at Lausanne have merely marked time waiting on London. At best Lausanne was no more than a coroner's inquest over the dead body of the Treaty of Sèvres. It has been marked by material surrenders only approximately decently covered by diplomatic subterfuges. The Turk has always insisted and obtained the substance; the western powers have not always gained even the shadow.

As for American participation, it has been purely illusory. We have been used there by the European powers to cover their impotence. They have deliberately "played up" the idea of our participation because it nourished the illusion in Europe that after all America was getting ready to come back. But there has been no misunderstanding the essential fact that while we were ready to defend with words abstract doctrines like that of the freedom of the Straits we were totally unprepared to give physical support to material questions like those concerning the wretched Christian populations of Turkish lands.

It has pleased our own vanity and suited European fancies to let us talk, but we have not enhanced our position abroad by disclosing a great readiness to advise the world of its duties and a complete unwillingness to assume any responsibility for the application of principles advocated or for the defense of lives endangered. We are associated thus with the most complete and humiliating surrender Christendom has known in two centuries at least. We are parties to the Turkish course in expelling hundreds of thousands of human beings whose offense it is to worship God as we do and whose misfortune it is to have inhabited regions which the Christian nations

pledged themselves to liberate and then abandoned.

When Lausanne has adjourned, the results will be written on the map, not in any parchment, and these results will be the reintegration of Turkish power, the actual control of the Straits, whatever the paper fiction, and the exile or extinction of the thousands of Christians who inhabited all the regions from Smyrna to Trebizond.

Moreover, one must not mistake the rising of Russia. At Lausanne one saw the first unmistakable signs of a Russian return to European affairs and the Russian Soviet revealed itself treading closely in the footsteps of the Czarist governments of the past. Dominating this new Russian policy is the old hatred of Great Britain intensified by all the resentments born of recent years and the unmistakable disclosure of Russian purpose to reopen the old struggle for the control of the Straits.

Islam on one side, Russia on the other, tending at times to agree, drifting apart at other moments—this is the picture of Lausanne, while, despite superficial harmony, no one could fail to perceive western nations divided as fatally as they were far centuries ago when the Turk at last crushed the sinking Byzantine Empire and, overleaping the Straits, began the march which was only halted before the walls of Vienna.

It is not a repetition of Turkish conquest which Europe has now to fear, but rather the onset of the Russian. Slowly but still visibly a reintegration is taking place within the vast Slav empire. With all its troubles Russia can still look to a more promising future than any other Continental state and it has not the smallest reason to cherish friendly feelings for any.

Ten years from now, if Europe continues to disintegrate and the vast Russian state is able to get to its feet, what will prevent it from imposing its will upon a disorganized and shattered Europe? True, the Bolshevik is modifying his methods and readjusting his principles, but he is not abandoning his hatred of those whom he regards as his enemies. Moreover, they have made war upon him and lost the fight. Having lost it, they have abandoned it. At Genoa the Russian was a Pariah, at Lausanne he was not yet received as an equal, but between Genoa and Lausanne not a little distance upward had been covered.

At Lausanne the Russian, like the Mo-

hammedan, saw the great western nations, including the United States, impotent in the presence of a tiny Turkey willing to fight. It saw the western nations incapable of acting together because of mutual jealousies and common weaknesses. We in the West may disguise the fact or avoid it by pleasant fictions like the advocacy of abstract doctrines such as the freedom of the Straits, but this represents self-deception, not the blinding of Russian or Turk.

The Russian and the Turk saw that we would submit to the massacre and expulsion of those who were in every real sense our wards, that we would abandon territory and surrender lives, while we argued solemnly over principles and insisted passionately upon abstractions. That is the fact that is now being proclaimed in every bazaar from one end of Asia to the other. That is what Russians are being told from Odessa to Archangel. That is the fact of Lausanne as contrasted with the pleasant diplomatic fiction.

And this, as I see it, is the largest fact in the situation at the turn of the year. Lausanne and even London are at most only symptomatic. While at the frontiers of Europe reintegration is taking place, both amongst the Russians and the Mohammedans, chaos and anarchy are expanding in the great countries which represent western civilization. With the exception of the United States, all western countries are patently sinking, it may be temporarily, it may be permanently, but no one can mistake the decline.

Moreover, the two strongest western powers, the United States and Britain, are frankly abandoning the European field, renouncing the policy of participation, with its responsibilities and authorities, and leaving the Continent to survive or perish as best it can. And whether one look to the Rhine, the Adriatic, or the Egean, it is plain that the Continent thus thrown back upon itself is, as much in despair as in hope, looking to force as the single resort available.

And unless every sign fails the new year is to be critical in the extreme. If the process of decay is not arrested, if disintegration, political anarchy and economic paralysis continue to extend, no man can safely foretell the future. The situation is, of course, far from hopeless, yet we have at last reached a point whence it is possible to see at close hand possibilities which at least seem fatal.

PRESENT NAVAL PROGRAMS

BY WILLIAM HOWARD GARDINER

I

A YEAR ago the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armament was in dramatic session. Plans for highly important future relations of the United States to the British Empire, Japan, France, Italy, China and other nations were being drafted. Our prospective naval power to support our rights and to do our share in policing the seas was being trimmed to a nicely adjusted world balance. And, consequently, every newspaper and magazine in the country was carrying column after column and page after page of news and comment.

But from the present dearth of reference to the Conference and to the perennial problems with which it dealt, it might be inferred that virtually all is settled and no longer a matter of interest to the public. Yet both general experience and recent facts that will be adduced hereunder suggest that the more important and more interesting developments from the Washington Conference have been taking place during the months that have followed its adjournment and since it virtually disappeared from the public prints.

Virtually all that the Washington Conference accomplished was to formulate plans in contractual treaty form which have to be ratified separately by each of the Powers concerned before they are legalized and can become operative. Here we must face the fact that, though the Conference finished its work nearly a year ago and adjourned amidst paeans of acclaim to the new era it had introduced, and though the United States Senate promptly ratified all the treaties, yet at the present time of writing not a single one of those treaties is in effect; because not one of them has been ratified by all the Powers concerned.

While we are, therefore, still in the phase of trying to get the basic contracts ratified and made operative, yet some Powers—and notably the United States—seem to be proceeding in the main as though the time

actually had arrived to put the treaties into practical effect. This has led to certain material actions which indicate far more definitely than phrases the spirit in which some Powers interpret the letter of the treaties we have ratified.

II

It will be recalled that, upon opening the Conference, the United States sought to limit the aggregate tonnages of capital ships, aircraft-carriers, cruisers, and submarines in the ratio of 10-10-6 as between the United States Navy, the British Navy and the Japanese Navy; and that the expressed intent was to establish this balance of naval power or apportionment of fleet quotas for the maintenance of the peace of the seas. France objected, however, to any limitation being put on the quantity of submarines she (and therefore others) might build; and Great Britain and Japan seemed averse to limits being set to the size of their respective cruiser forces. This resulted in the aggregate tonnages of only capital ships and aircraft-carriers being limited; and it left all the Powers entirely free to build and maintain any number of cruisers, submarines, and other auxiliary vessels they may desire.

It is pertinent to recall also that such great store was set by this precise ratio of 10-10-6 that, when the Japanese seemed to insist on the ratio of 10-10-7, very protracted negotiations ensued and were ended only by the United States in effect purchasing the 10-10-6 ratio by yielding to the Japanese demand—which was supported by the British—that insular fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific west of Hawaii be suspended *in statu quo*, ours being utterly inadequate for the defense of our Far Eastern dependents. This extremely important and highly regrettable concession was made because it was deemed to be of paramount importance that the effective ratio of our fleet to that of Japan should be 10-6 rather than 10-7. For the

main point apparently—though perhaps mistakenly—in the minds of the American delegation was to establish the ratio of 10-10-6, or 5-5-3, as the effective ratio for the fleet force of the United States to that of Great Britain and that of Japan.

In other words, the main naval objective of the American delegates to the Washington Conference was to secure for the United States the right to maintain our navy on a basis of not less than equality with that of Great Britain and five-thirds the strength of that of Japan.

After the Conference had adjourned and the United States Senate had ratified the treaties, Congress passed the naval appropriation bill for the current fiscal year—seemingly under what proved to be the wholly mistaken hypothesis that all the proposed treaties would be ratified promptly by all the contracting Powers and forthwith put in effect. But during the debates on the naval bill, a letter from Secretary Hughes, dated April 10, 1922, was read on the floor of the House of Representatives, in which Secretary Hughes said in part:

The American delegates to the Washington Conference deemed it to be essential that they should stand inflexibly for the ratio shown by existing strength, and thus they insisted upon a replacement schedule which would give equality with Great Britain and a ratio of 5-3 with Japan. This result was achieved. We should have taken a wholly indefensible position had we asked for less. But of what avail are this labor and success if the Navy is not kept to an agreed standard? . . . I trust that an adequate personnel will be supplied to maintain the eighteen battleships which the United States is entitled to keep, together with the auxiliaries that would be appropriate to such a fleet.

On May 4, 1922, Secretary Denby wrote to the Navy League of the United States and said among other things:

Since the strength of the Fleet depends almost entirely on the efficiency of its operation, if the 5-5-3 ratio is to have any significance we must maintain the ratio in *personnel* as well as in *matériel*.

It should be added that official evidence was submitted to Congress to the effect that the total enlisted personnel incident to the British navy was considerably over 100,000 and would not be reduced materially below that number; and similarly authoritative evidence was submitted to the effect that the Japanese enlisted personnel was about 73,000 but might be reduced to 65,000—a number adequate fully to man every ship that the Japanese have in service or will be able to complete in the near future.

Having only evidence of a British enlisted personnel exceeding 100,000 and of a Japanese enlisted personnel exceeding 73,000, the General Board of our navy last spring recommended that an American enlisted personnel of 120,000 would be the minimum requisite to the maintenance of the treaty ratio of equality with Great Britain and five-thirds the strength of Japan—unless the Japanese personnel were to be reduced drastically.

With this evidence and the explicit statements of Secretary Hughes before it, Congress last Spring reduced the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy to 86,000. This meant that Congress knowingly and deliberately reduced the effective naval strength of the United States below the treaty ratio for which Secretary Hughes had labored so earnestly in the Conference and which he had urged Congress to support.

Some might view this action as a deliberate subordination by Congress of the interests and security of the United States which it had been urged to support by such competent authorities as the Secretary of State and the General Board of the Navy. But rather than pursue such a line of thought, it may be more interesting to assume that either Great Britain or Japan, or both, are relying on the United States to contribute and maintain in effect its quota to the naval balance of power in the world, as indicated by the 5-5-3 ratio.

Since Congress—which prides itself on its supreme authority to represent the United States—had reduced our navy to about two-thirds of the then treaty quota, by reducing its enlisted personnel to 86,000, it might be difficult to refute an allegation that the United States, because of Congress, should not be relied on to live in practice up to such important international undertakings. In other words, this kind of performance on the part of Congress might seem to warrant other Powers in not taking the United States as seriously as is desirable in international affairs.

It might be claimed, however, that the United States, having brought about the prospect of a measure of limitation of armament *by agreement* at the Washington Conference, was impelled to lead the world to a further reduction of armament *by example*.

But in such an hypothesis we would be confronted by the fact that though the United States had reduced its enlisted per-

sonnel to 86,000, the enlisted personnel incident to the British navy remains over 100,000. On the other hand, only in November did official word come that the Japanese Ministry of Marine said that the Japanese personnel had been reduced, by October 1, to 65,000—which raises the ratio between the United States and Japan from 3.6-3 to 4-3. If the Japanese had desired to follow to the relative level of reduction set by Congress, they would have reduced their personnel not to 65,000 but to 51,600.

If, therefore, the reduction of the enlisted personnel of the American navy to 86,000 was an experiment in the pacifist plan for "disarmament by example," it would seem that this experiment has failed, so far, to enlist the commensurate responsive co-operation of Great Britain and of Japan.

An examination of a few items in some present post-Conference building programs may throw light on why such an experiment on the part of the United States has not seemed to make an effective appeal to at least one of these other Powers.

III

At the close of the Washington Conference the program for scrapping naval ships stood as follows:

	OLD SHIPS		NEW SHIPS	
	NUMBER	TONS	NUMBER	TONS
United States	17	267,740	13	552,800
Great Britain	24	500,000	none	none
Japan	10	163,312	4	161,958
	51	931,052	17	714,758

These fifty-one old ships scheduled for scrapping may be dismissed with the statement that most of them are too weak to fight and too slow to run away and that, consequently, naval experts held long before the Conference that the greater part of them should be scrapped as a measure of naval efficiency.

Of the thirteen new American ships on which construction is suspended pending ratification of the naval treaty, eleven are to be scrapped and two are to be converted into aircraft-carriers under the terms of the treaty. This also applies to the four new Japanese ships, two of which, aggregating

82,000 tons, are reported as likely to be converted into aircraft-carriers. Subtracting those 82,000 tons from the gross 161,958 tons of new Japanese ships first scheduled for the scrap heap, leaves virtually 80,000 tons as the net amount in new capital ships under construction that Japan may have to scrap because of the naval limitation treaty.

Since the Washington Conference, Japan has projected or has contracted for eight new light cruisers aggregating 70,000 tons. Only last July Admiral Kato—one of Japan's delegates to the Washington Conference, and now Premier—stated that in addition to the Japanese submarines then built or building, Japan would construct twenty-two new boats aggregating over 28,000 tons. As it is reported that construction has started on some of these vessels, it appears that, since the Washington Conference, Japan has undertaken a new cruiser and submarine program involving the construction of more than 98,000 tons of new war vessels—or 18,000 tons more than the 80,000 tons of new capital ships on which construction is suspended and which will be scrapped if the naval limitation treaty ever becomes effective. It should be added that construction is proceeding on new destroyers and other auxiliaries, as well as on the above-mentioned cruisers and submarines.

Capital ships may be built for a shade under \$1000 per ton, while submarines and smaller high-speed vessels—such as light cruisers or destroyers—are likely to cost over \$1200 per ton. As far as construction goes, Japan stood to save \$80,000,000 from stopping her pre-Conference capital ship building program. Her new post-Conference building program contemplates over 98,000 tons at over \$1200 per ton, and she is therefore taking on a substitute expenditure of \$107,600,000—a net increase of over \$27,000,000. Admiral Kato has stated, however, that Japan's total post-Conference building program can be carried through without exceeding the financial demand that the completion of his pre-Conference program would have occasioned.

The following table, based on the latest authoritative data, shows the present situation as to cruisers less than ten years old:

	BUILT		BUILDING		TOTAL	
	NUMBER	TONS	NUMBER	TONS	NUMBER	TONS
United States	none	none	10	75,000	10	75,000
Great Britain	52	261,790	4	34,600	56	296,390
Japan	10	51,210	15	106,520	25	157,730

It should be explained that the United States, at present, has not a single cruiser afloat and completed less than twelve years old, but that a year or more before the Washington Conference, ten new cruisers were started; and most of these are expected to be commissioned during the coming twelve months. It is evident, however, that if the United States is to maintain in effective form equality with Great Britain and the ratio of five-thirds the naval strength of Japan, a total of about 295,000 tons of effective American cruisers is required. This would call for the immediate construction of about twenty-two additional 10,000-ton cruisers.

While similar figures with respect to submarines are at hand, they are much more complex than the figures for cruisers and, therefore, are not detailed here. It should be said, however, that the United States has urgent need for submarines able to operate effectively across the ocean from a home base. Japan, for example, has at least twenty-eight submarines of over 1000 tons built, building, or included in her post-Conference program; whereas the United States has only three such submarines built and three building.

IV

Summarizing the conclusions from facts here stated, it should be recalled that, in spite of the urgent plea of Secretary Hughes to maintain the effectiveness of the 5-5-3 treaty ratio, Congress deliberately reduced the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy so drastically after the Washington Conference adjourned that the real fleet strength of our navy to that of Great Britain is below 4.3-5 (instead of 5-5) and that the actual fleet strength of our navy to that of Japan is about 4-3 instead of being up to 5-3 in every essential respect.

It should be recalled, also, that after the United States had set this example in drastic reduction below the Conference ratio, neither Great Britain nor Japan followed this lead commensurately; and this in spite of Great Britain's present financial stringency and in spite of Japan's slender relative means.

Coming to the building programs, it has been shown that after the Conference, Japan laid down a new building program greater by 18,000 tons than the net amount of new tonnage the Conference aimed to prevent her from building; and that this increased building program probably will cost Japan over \$107,000,000 for new construction, or \$27,000,000 more than she could save as a result of suspending her pre-Conference capital ship construction.

With respect to pre-Conference and post-Conference building programs for cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, as these programs stood, according to official figures, on September 1, 1922, but exclusive of the ten cruisers the United States has nearly completed; Our total construction in hand amounted to nearly 36,000 tons, that of Great Britain to nearly 54,000 tons, while Japan's active cruiser, destroyer, and submarine building program amounted to over 224,000 tons. Yet all this post-Conference construction is being carried on without violating the letter of the naval limitation treaty.

Such are some of the actual developments since the Washington Conference adjourned less than a year ago. They seem to support the thesis advanced by some naval experts that auxiliary naval vessels, as well as capital ships, should have been limited—and that, failing thorough limitation, then there should not have been agreement to any kind of limitation. Certainly such energetic building as has been indicated suggests the propriety of constant and intelligent reconsideration by the public of the plans proposed by the Washington Conference and of the consequent activities of our proposed partners in the coöperative undertaking to maintain a world balance of naval power.

Our Administration proposed the fleet limitation set up by the naval treaty, and our Senate has ratified the treaty. If all the other contracting Powers ratify it, and thus put it into effect, then at any cost we should maintain the United States Navy actually on a basis of equality with that of Great Britain and five-thirds the strength of that of Japan in every essential respect.



THE OPIUM PROBLEM

BY ELIZABETH WASHBURNE WRIGHT

(Assessor of the Advisory Opium Committee of the League of Nations)

THE world is still confronted with a solution of the opium problem. How is that evil to be exterminated? This perplexing question has been temporized with for nearly two centuries, during which period it has sent out such far-reaching tentacles that to-day every nation of the earth is included in their grasp.

At regular intervals the conscience of the world has been aroused and there has followed agitation, and investigation, and recommendation; and the trade has continued on its course. There have been Royal Commissions to study the question, and International Commissions, and Hague Conferences. The Paris Conference paused to consider the opium question, and the League of Nations has become its guardian. The machinery of that body is functioning admirably in its effort to solve the problem, but the prospect of getting at the source and root of the matter still seems remote.

The opium evil has spread from the East, until the whole world is threatened with contamination. We must therefore retrace our steps to the original seat of infection, and grapple with the problem at its source.

We are not without precedent in following such a course. At the Disarmament Conference held last year in Washington it was demonstrated that the most direct way of getting to the heart of a question was to waste no time in the circuitous or indirect approach, but to meet the issue at the start. The matter under discussion at Washington was the reduction of navies; and it was decided that the most effective way to reduce navies was to reduce them.

The Effort to Limit Production

Why should the same line of reasoning not be applied with equal effect to this other world problem—the traffic in opium? In other words, the most effective way to rid the world of the curse of opium is to strike at the source and restrict its cultivation. It is certainly worth the trial. And

this applies equally to all habit-forming drugs. The alarming spread of the cocaine habit can be traced directly to a similar lack of restriction at the source—and to the immense new areas in South America and elsewhere being devoted to the cultivation of the coca plant. It is here that the first check must be applied—not to the manufacture, nor to distribution. It is easier to choke the spring than the swelling river.

Production is the crux of the situation. Sir John Jordan, for many years British Minister to China, has said that opium wherever grown would always reach the consumer, and that the only way to solve the problem is to restrict production.

A resolution to this effect was introduced by Dr. Wellington Koo, former Chinese Minister to the United States, at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in 1921. It was unanimously accepted, and marked a great advance in the study of the opium question. It was Dr. Koo's contention that the desired object of restricting the traffic in dangerous drugs to legitimate purposes could never be attained so long as their production was greatly in excess of medical and scientific requirements. This is particularly true in the case of the United States, where the drug question is acute. No Government has passed more restrictive legislation; but from the very nature of the drug all legislation is futile while there is no check on production.

What Is the "Legitimate" Use of Opium?

It was unfortunate, therefore, that the position of the Council was reversed by the Assembly when it was proposed that the word "legitimate" be substituted for "medical and scientific" in the resolution as adopted by the Council. This would seem but a minor alteration. "Legitimate," however, is a very elastic term, and in this instance it bears directly upon the whole question of opium cultivation. The reasons for altering the decision of the Council were

based primarily upon the declaration of the Indian delegate as to the legitimate need of the Indian population for opium.

This opinion is not based on scientific fact, and should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. It is probably true that the natives of India are in the habit of taking opium to a far greater extent than has ever been sanctioned by medical authorities in the West. The Government admits a ratio of 26 grains per head. It is also possible that these consumers of opium would strongly protest against the drug being taken from them. More than this, it would be unwise abruptly to stop this practice to-day—or to introduce any new element of friction into a situation already sufficiently acute. No one who knows India—and England's contribution to the welfare of that great country—would wilfully add to her embarrassment. It is therefore from no spirit of criticism, but simply with a desire to arrive at the truth, that leads one to ask: What is the legitimate use of opium? Until this fact is established we can never proceed far with the question under discussion.

Not only did the Indian delegate pronounce at the meeting of the Assembly that the eating of opium is a legitimate practice, but Indian government reports state that "there is no race on earth which does not use some stimulant, and that opium is particularly suited to the Eastern temperament." Its use is specifically urged in the case of malaria. This point of view obviously can never be accepted by medical opinion in America or Great Britain. Nevertheless the Indian Government was successful in impressing this view upon the League of Nations, a fact which has distinctly hurt the prestige of the League both in America and in England, where public opinion has for many years loudly condemned the opium trade.

Under the British Pharmacopœia Acts opium is classed as a poison; and the laws of America and England are regulated in such a way as to place it out of the reach of the majority of the people. As a matter of fact, we have abundant evidence that opium consumed in any form save for medicinal requirements is injurious. It would seem, however, that the lay mind is still unconvinced, as indicated by frequent references to the opinion of the Royal Commission sent to India in 1894, repudiated alike by the medical world of that day and by Lord Morley, who said that "he did not wish

to speak in disparagement of the Commission, but, somehow or other, its findings had failed to satisfy public opinion in Great Britain and to ease the conscience of those who had taken up the matter. What was the value of medical views as to whether opium was a good thing or not, when we had the evidence of nations who knew opium at close quarters?"

At the meeting of the International Commission held in Shanghai in 1909, it was suggested that a scientific inquiry should be made to satisfy the minds of those still in doubt as to the legitimate uses of opium. But it was there recognized that, in spite of the fact that there was no international report on the scientific aspects of the uses of opium and like drugs, the use of these drugs for other than medicinal purposes was indefensible. If the matter is still open to controversy, it should once and for all be presented to the medical tribunal of the world for verdict. Much more difficult problems have been solved. Otherwise the Opium Committee of the League of Nations, or any similar body striving to reach the truth, will be badly handicapped; for any work based on false premises must sooner or later fail.

Sacrifices Required by India and China

The situation to-day is extremely serious. The world is facing a danger which should not be minimized. We know what the opium evil has done for China. The late Sir Patrick Manson stated his views on the subject when he said that after twenty-eight years' experience in China he "had no hesitation in condemning the practice, which had done much to suppress the energies of China. . . . It leads to a moral deterioration infinitely more profound than that resulting from the drink habit." Have we any reason to believe that other nations would be less disastrously affected?

We are at the parting of the ways. Unless India and the other opium-producing countries of the world are prepared to reduce their cultivation to the medicinal requirement, all check upon the trade will go. China, needing resources more acutely than any other government, can not be expected to forfeit a great potential revenue while other governments profit by her abstinence. Unless the world will demonstrate its sincerity by accepting the medicinal restriction, we are more than likely in the near future to see China establish a government

monopoly herself. She will then outdistance all competition and control the markets of the world—not only as to raw production but as to morphine, which up to the present has never manufactured.

It is unfortunately true that China has broken her pledge to India by the recrudescence of poppy cultivation; and more than that, she has violated international obligations assumed under the Hague Convention of 1912. India forfeited some 30,000,000 rupees a year in order to give China her chance, and it is not strange that her feeling to-day should be one of resentment. But China is not the only offender. In 1917 she had all but eradicated the poppy from her fields, only to have the world at once substitute morphine in place of opium. And this was on the part of America and England and Germany and Japan—all parties to the convention of 1912. Public opinion in China has always been opposed to opium. But China is now in chaos, with no government capable of enforcing its laws.

The world has utterly lost its perspective in regard to the trade in habit-forming drugs. It is perhaps forgotten that before the Ten-year Agreement went into effect, in 1907, British Chambers of Commerce in China were petitioning their home governments to stop the sale of opium in China, not simply on moral grounds but because opium was destroying the buying power of China. These British business men realized that if England persisted in selling opium she could expect to sell little else; that every shipment of narcotics that entered Chinese ports decreased the buying power of China. The demand for Western goods has only begun to be aroused in China. The potential market of 400,000,000 people we can hardly estimate. Morally and physically the opium trade is indefensible. Economically it is unsound.

If the world is to stop this scourge before it gets out of bounds it can no longer be temporized with. It must be checked—and at its source. This does not mean that India should alone be asked to sacrifice and that other nations should fatten on her renunciation. Turkey, Persia, and China are the other great opium-producing countries. Turkey was bound by the Treaty of Sevres to put the opium convention into effect. But Turkey to-day is an unknown quantity. Sooner or later, however, she will be forced to conform to the public

opinion of the world and accept the principle that the cultivation of the poppy must be restricted to its medicinal need. As Turkish opium is rich in its medicinal properties, opium must ever remain as a large item in the Turkish budget—but based on its power to aid rather than to corrupt. And this applies equally to Persia, whose sacrifice would be relatively slight as Persian opium, like Turkish, contains a high percentage of morphine and must therefore always supply a legitimate market. Persia is also bound by the Hague Convention, with reservations it is true; but these cannot long withstand the pressure of public opinion.

America's Hesitation

It is apparent that to-day neither the spirit nor the letter of the Hague Convention of 1911 is being observed. The eating of opium has been ascribed by the Assembly of the League of Nations to be a legitimate practice. And smoking-opium, while definitely outlawed by the convention, is still flooding the East and contaminating the Chinese wherever they may congregate in communities under the jurisdiction of European governments. Further than this, it has become a physical impossibility for the Philippines Government to protect its great chain of islands from smuggled opium, although a prohibitive law was passed some seventeen years ago. This evil will never be eradicated until the source itself is approached and the cultivation of the poppy restricted to medicinal and scientific needs.

If the Hague Convention is not sufficiently specific or sufficiently elastic to meet the present situation, it should be amended at once. If it is impossible for America to participate actively on the Opium Committee of the League of Nations, with some assurance of counteracting the pressure being applied by nations with interests at stake, then obviously an alternative method should be adopted—either by the calling of another international conference, or by the creation of a permanent body similar to that functioning in Geneva but immune from the influences that at present threaten the independent action of the committee established by the league.

While America hesitates as how best to reapproach the subject, it grows daily more acute; and unless the evil is soon grappled with it will pass beyond all power of control. There is no time like the present.

"LISTENING IN," OUR NEW NATIONAL PASTIME

IT would be a commonplace remark to say that when wireless telephoning became practical, about the year 1914, no one dreamed that its use would ever be general or popular. Even two years ago few enthusiasts would have dared to assert that they would live to see hundreds of thousands of persons interested in radio-telephony. The rapidity with which the thing has spread has possibly not been equalled in all the centuries of human progress.

Americans are a home-loving people. When the day's work is done, and the evening meal is over, the natural desire is to remain at home; one goes out merely to seek entertainment, recreation, and education which could not otherwise be had. There, perhaps, lies the secret of radio; for enterprising "broadcasters" bring to the ear, every hour and every day, wholly without cost to the "listener-in," a most amazing variety of entertainment and instruction.

These broadcasting stations are operated by manufacturers of radio supplies, who are repaid by the creation of a boom market for sets and parts; by newspapers and department stores, which see an advertising value in the new fad; and by amateur enthusiasts or experimenters. No one knows how many thousand persons each night are informed, before and after a musical selection or a talk, that "This is WSB, the Atlanta Journal"; or "This is WHB, the Sweeney Automobile School, Kansas City"; or "This is WOO, John Wanamaker, Philadelphia"; or "This is WDAP, the Drake Hotel, Chicago." One station in Iowa mailed printed programs weekly until 30,000 listeners had asked for them; and then it quit issuing printed programs.

Who are these radio fans? Strange to say, they are not mechanics, even though every set requires a certain amount of installation and most sets are either home-made or home-assembled. Among the men-folk at an office with which the writer is familiar one in every three has a radio outfit. All were more or less home-made, no two are in any way alike, and every one gives

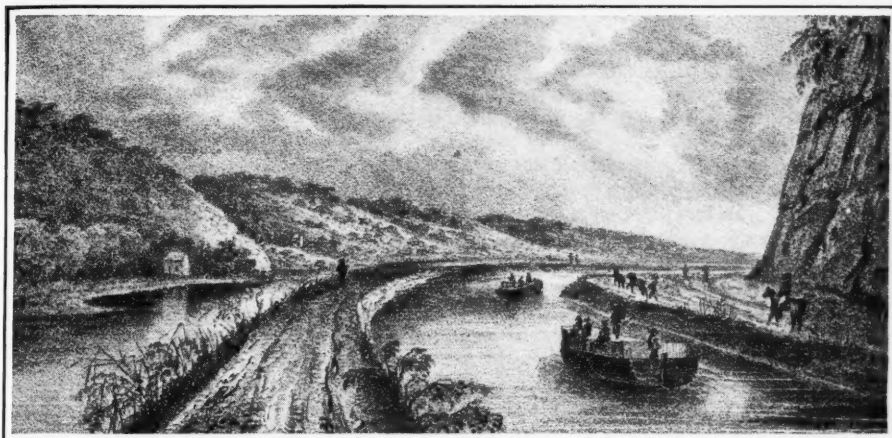
satisfaction. Two of them regularly pick up broadcasting stations a thousand miles away. The most expensive set in the group cost less than \$75, including telephone receivers and batteries.

Even an outfit of limited range will bring to one's sitting-room or fireside—through the turning of a knob or two, or the sliding of a cylinder—a variety of entertainment and instruction such as he could not himself have planned. Vocal and instrumental selections there are aplenty, as clear as though the artists were in the next room—solos, duets, quartettes, whole choruses, symphonies, and even operas. But besides those offerings the radio fan "gets" varsity football or baseball games and professional prizefights, described from field or ringside; he hears church services from beginning to end; he listens to a Shakespeare reading or to a speech. Last month General Pershing spoke one evening to a radio audience from St. Louis; it is entirely probable that his voice carried to every State in the Union. The musical selections of WJZ, from Newark, N. J., have been heard in England.

There are now more than 500 broadcasting stations, scattered all over this country. The amateur listener is unfortunate, indeed, who can not hear any one that he chooses among half a dozen, while the more patient or skillful person can pick up one after another a score of stations. In and around New York, during any evening, a hundred-foot length of copper wire in one's backyard will receive messages sent out into the air from Boston, Schenectady, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Atlanta, Louisville, Indianapolis, Chicago, Davenport, Kansas City, and St. Louis. And a modest companion outfit indoors will permit the radio fan to select, one at a time, the station or the message he wishes to hear.

Installing a home set is a short cut to neighborhood fame, a sure way to become known as a mechanical genius. But in truth no special knowledge is required. The novice needs to learn only one thing: Seek good advice, and follow it! A week of tinkering, off and on; and then a winter full of pleasant and profitable evenings at home.

H. F.



A SCENE ON THE OLD ERIE CANAL—FROM AN EARLY ENGRAVING.

NEW YORK'S CANAL SYSTEM

I. A CENTURY'S GROWTH

BY WILLIAM B. SHAW

"Oh, a ditch he would dig from the lakes to the sea,
The eighth of the world's matchless wonders to be.
Good land! how absurd! But why should you grin?
It will do to bury its mad author in."

WE do not know the name of the loyal Tammanyite or "Bucktail" who a century ago wrote these lines as a travesty on the "Grand Canal," then building, and its advocate, De Witt Clinton. The rhymester's verse may have been lame, but his sentiments, beyond question, were those of the Tammany Hall of his day. To characterize Clinton as a harebrained visionary and his project as the very climax of madness was at that time to treat him with rather more than the customary courtesy. Yet the whirligig of time, besides bringing revenges, sometimes vindicates a reputation with astonishing celerity. Within six years from the date of the Tammany poet's outburst, the "ditch" had actually been dug, all the way from Lake Erie to tidewater, and had been hailed by not a few as the world's eighth wonder, while the man who had brought the venture thus far toward fruition was acclaimed as a benefactor.

Ditch-Digging Extraordinary!

In only one respect did the doggerel of 1819 correctly forecast the achievement of

1825. The excavation from Buffalo to the Hudson was in the strict sense of the word a "ditch"—four feet deep and twenty-eight feet wide on the bottom. Only in its length, which was 350 miles, did it approach the dignity of a real canal, estimated by modern standards. It has remained to this day the longest artificial waterway in the world, with the exception of China's Grand Canal (13th century). To dig a ditch, even of that moderate size, through forest and marsh for 350 miles was no mean task. To estimate the job in terms of steam shovels and other modern excavating machinery is one thing; to think of it as accomplished by man-power with pick and shovel, scraper, plow and ax, is to visualize a very different problem. The original Erie in the early 19th Century was as big a feat as Panama in the early 20th.

Lake Erie is 500 feet higher than the Hudson River at Albany. Locks had to be built at intervals for changes of level. For a great part of the distance between the Lake and the River there are natural water-courses. It was at one time proposed to utilize these, as in fact has been done in our own day for the Barge Canal. But the engineering practice of those times was against such procedure.

The Greatest Public Work of its Day

The work of construction was allotted in section contracts. Strange as it may seem, there were times when responsible contractors were hardly to be found on any terms. The State was obliged to start a fund from which loans could be made to worthy but impecunious contractors for the purchase of tools and supplies. On the original canal, which soon came to be known as the Erie, the State expended for all purposes connected with construction something over \$7,000,000—a stupendous sum indeed for a commonwealth just emerging from the wilderness stage, with only a small proportion of its area improved, and facing many of the problems of frontier development which a later generation was to meet and solve in the great West. No other State, east or west, has succeeded in a public work of like magnitude. What we know to-day as the Empire State was then only four decades removed from the Revolution.

At the outset there was little that gave promise of success. The engineers were men who knew the country and the conditions under which their task had to be worked out. Beyond that, their technical knowledge did not extend very far. They knew little of the great engineering triumphs of their time. Yet James Geddes, Benjamin Wright and their colleagues achieved a result that won the praise of the European masters of their profession. The work that they did contributed powerfully to the growth of inland commerce. The opening of "Clinton's Ditch" in 1825 is recognized to this day as the greatest event in the commercial history of New York City. It built up a metropolis where there had been a port and trading center of uncertain future. It took from Philadelphia the prestige of America's commercial capital.

The Old Erie More than Paid its Way

An "artery of commerce," holding only four feet of water at the maximum depth, seems insignificant indeed when judged by modern standards. Yet the traffic that it supported from the first was relatively large. A writer of that day noted that the canal tonnage early exceeded that of all foreign and domestic shipping entering and departing from the port of New York. When the canal was opened there was not a mile of railroad in the State of New York. It was twenty years before railroad freight

competition began to be felt by the canal. As late as 1846 the value of shipments brought to tidewater on the New York canals was greater than the whole export trade of the State, and more than half the combined trade of the principal commercial States of the Union.

After the railroads had become carriers of freight on a considerable scale the State saw to it that their competition should not harm the canal. Those railroads that paralleled the State's waterway were forbidden by the Legislature to carry any freight at all in the season of canal operation (about seven months—from April to November) and in the winter months were compelled to pay the canal tolls. Those tolls, levied on canal boats during the season of navigation, had become an important element of the State's income before the railroads had entered the field. Beginning at about \$500,000 a year the receipts from this source had grown to \$3,500,000, and the canal had actually paid for itself within the first ten years.

Hardly had through navigation begun, when a loud demand for enlargement arose. The diminutive boats, of three and one-half feet draught, towed by horses and mules, and carrying at the best not more than sixty tons of merchandise, were often compelled by low water to reduce their load to thirty tons. In a few years the canal was deepened and widened, but it was not until 1862 that the locks had been altered so that a boat of six feet draft, 98 feet long, 17½ feet wide and of 240 tons burden could pass. These and later enlargements were far more costly than the original canal, but the traffic seemed to justify them and they were eventually paid for out of the tolls.

Of the system of branch or lateral canals built to connect with the old Erie, only three remained in service when work on the new barge system was begun. These were the Champlain, the Oswego, and the Cayuga and Seneca. All these, enlarged, are now barge canals and are described in Senator Hill's article, which follows.

After the Erie Canal had been in operation for about a year Martin Van Buren, speaking in the United States Senate, pointed out that the canals of New York, though built and paid for by the State, were of national use. This, of course, was true, but in the earlier years most of the "through" as well as "way" traffic originated within the State's borders. In 1846

way traffic was twice the value of through traffic.

The persistent and long-continued supremacy of the Erie Canal as a freight carrier is shown by the fact that as late as 1874 it boasted a greater tonnage than either the New York Central or the Erie Railway.

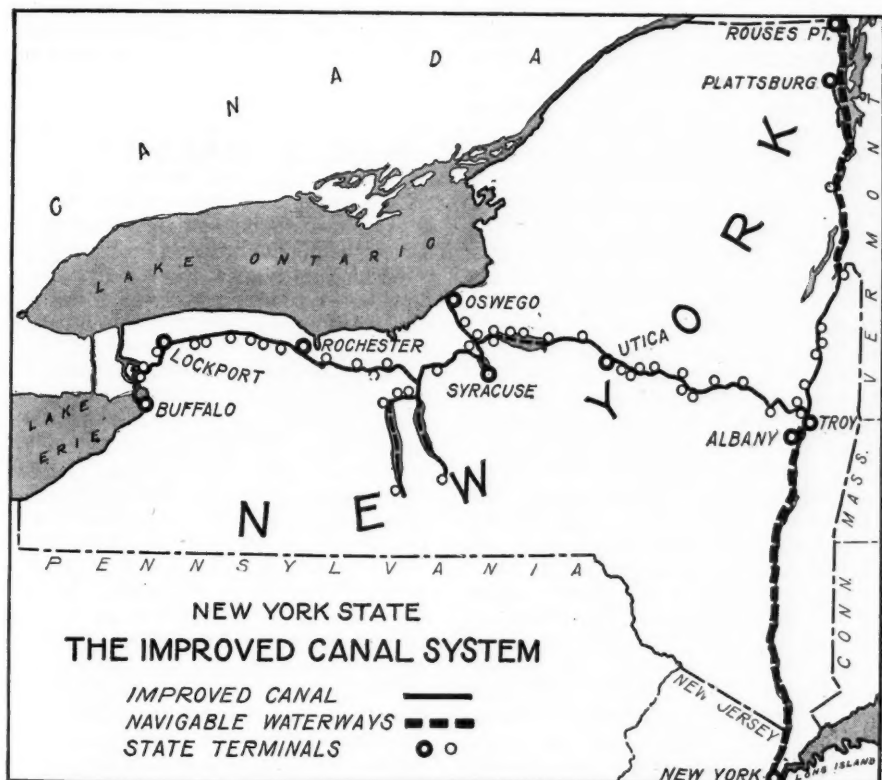
Always "in Politics"

The New York canal system is one conspicuous instance of a public work conceived by politicians and conducted for a long period to the advantage of the general public. Low canal freights served to build up the interior counties, such cities as Syracuse and Rochester, and at the same time to make New York City the terminus of a vast traffic movement from West to East. Communities and individuals were really benefited by the waterway, not to mention the great number of citizens who profited from construction and repair contracts and in various indirect ways.

What the railroads were in the settle-

ment and growth of the Mississippi Valley in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the canal had been in the development of New York during the first half of that century. Because of its relation to the State itself the canal could make men both powerful and rich. It actually made and unmade many a political career. De Witt Clinton himself rose from seeming defeat on the crest of the canal issue. He lived to see his dream in a fair way toward realization and his memory is kept alive to-day because of the part he played in committing the State to a canal policy.

Half a century later another career grew into national proportions from the environment of New York Canal politics. Contractors had waxed fat from canal enlargements and repairs. Their unholy alliance with politicians in and out of office had become known as the "Canal Ring." Samuel J. Tilden was elected Governor with a mandate to turn the rascals out, and so effectively did he perform the task that he was nominated for the Presidency and



received a plurality of the popular vote. It was chiefly his reputation as a canal reformer that gave him political prestige and advancement.

Passenger Travel

We of the hurrying present may well retain a memory of the Erie's romantic past—the packet-boats making their "speed" spurts of six miles an hour, but much of the time keeping to a schedule that was leisurely enough to let the passengers walk on the tow-path ahead of the horses! Then there were the families and colonies that began by the canal route the long journey to the States and Territories of the West. Herbert Quick, in "Vandemark's Folly," has given a vivid picture of life on the canal in the Forties and Fifties. The popular story, "David Harum," a quarter of a century ago, told us something of the canal magnates of central New York. Travelers, from 1830 to the Civil War, found much that was interesting and agreeable in the canal voyage, despite the "low bridges."

A New Chapter in Canal History

In the Seventies the old Erie's prosperity, which had continued for half a century,

showed signs of decline. Tolls were reduced, and in 1883 abolished, but even that heroic measure did not avail. It soon became evident that the peak of canal importance as a traffic route had been reached and passed. It is not necessary to discuss the reasons for this fact. Economic tendencies and influences were growing steadily against the canals and in favor of the railroads. The thing to be noted in this connection is that even in its days of crisis the canal did not lose its hold on the imagination of New Yorkers. The teachings of Clinton and the other promoters of the canal idea had been passed on from father to son. The canal as a State institution had become so vital a part of the New Yorker's conception of the body politic that abandonment was not to be thought of. By 1903 the people had been educated to a far grander waterways project than had ever claimed a place in Clinton's dreams—a twelve-foot channel, accommodating thousand-ton barges propelled by steam. The sons and grandsons of men who rode on the horse-drawn packet-boats in Van Buren's time voted an amendment to the State Constitution in 1903 which made possible all that Senator Hill so effectively describes in the following pages.

II. THE IMPROVED BARGE CANALS

BY HENRY W. HILL

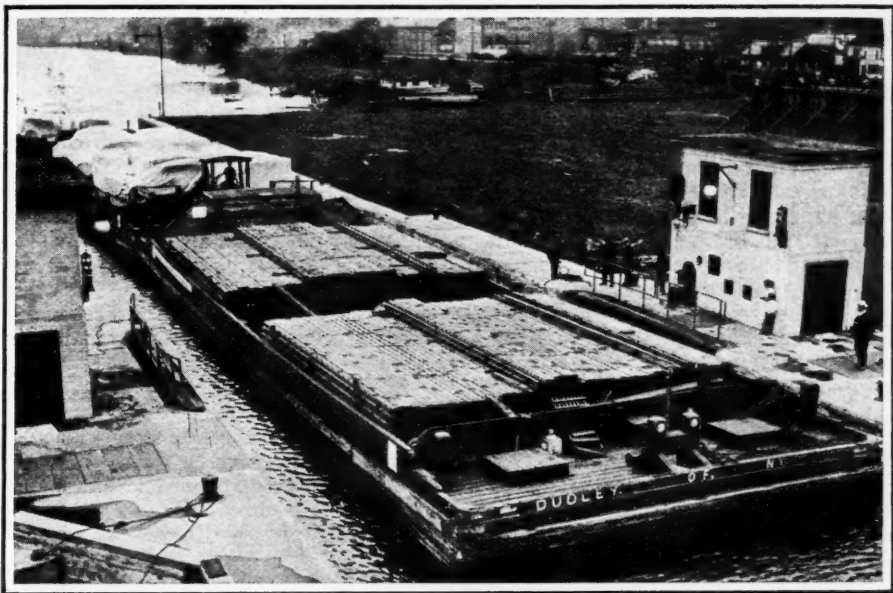
(President of the New York State Waterways Association)

THE New York Barge Canals were especially designed and at great cost constructed by the State to enable the cereal products and other tonnage of the Great Lakes region as well as the freight from the sea to be economically transported between those great natural bodies of water. They are the best designed and the most modern canals in the world. Their electrically operated locks are 300 feet long, inside measure, 45 feet wide, and have 12 feet of water over lock sills. The canal prisms, or channels, are 12 feet deep, with a minimum bottom width of 75 feet and a width of channel at water surface of from 123 to 171 feet, except in the canalized river and lake sections, where the bottom width is 200 feet and the surface width even greater. All bridges are 15½ feet above the surface of the waters. There are thirty-five locks along the Erie

Canal, which extends from Lake Erie to the Hudson River at Troy—a distance of 355 miles. Of that distance 215 miles are canalized natural streams or waterways and only 140 miles are artificial channels. The distance from New York to Lake Erie via the Erie Canal is approximately 500 miles.

The Champlain Canal has twelve locks and extends from the Hudson River at Waterford up the Hudson to Fort Edward and thence by an artificial channel to the valley of Wood Creek, which is canalized to Lake Champlain at Whitehall. It is 64 miles long, of which distance 34 miles are natural waterways and only 27 miles are artificial channels.

The Oswego Canal has eight locks and extends from the Three River Point along the canalized Oswego River to Lake Ontario—a distance of 24 miles. The distance



A LOAD OF STEEL RAILS AND AUTOMOBILES, IN THE LOCK AT AMSTERDAM, N. Y., ON ITS JOURNEY TO THE METROPOLIS

from Lake Ontario to New York via the Oswego Canal to its junction with the Erie Canal at Three River Point, 314.7 miles from New York, and thence via the Erie Canal and the Hudson River is 337 miles.

The Cayuga and Seneca Canal has four locks and extends from the Erie Canal southwesterly to Cayuga and Seneca Lakes—a distance of 24 miles, and opens up both Cayuga Lake, 38 miles long, and Seneca Lake, 35 miles long, to barge navigation.

The lock chambers and prisms are uniform in size. Lakes Erie, Ontario, Champlain, Cayuga and Seneca are brought into navigable communication with one another and with the Hudson River and the Atlantic Ocean by these barge canals, as shown by the map of their routes, termini and terminals on page 55. The illustrations accompanying this article show some of the structures, including locks, dams, terminals, etc. The locks are electrically operated and are of the most approved type.

Large Cargo Capacity

The New York Barge Canals may be navigated by vessels 300 feet long, 42 feet wide, and of 100 feet draft, having a carrying cargo capacity of 2800 tons, or one-fifth of the carrying cargo capacity of the largest Great Lakes vessels, so that a fleet of five

canal barges will take on the entire cargo of a Great Lakes vessel of 14,000 tons capacity and transport such cargo from the Great Lakes to the seacoast as economically and more expeditiously than it could be transported in the original Great Lakes vessel, or in an ocean-going ship from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard. This may be done when canal barges are built in sufficient numbers to transport all the ex-lake tonnage destined for the sea. The abnormal canal rates of 1922 were due entirely to an unprecedented volume of grain shipped down the Great Lakes to Buffalo and also to Montreal, and to the latter port both by boat and rail. As soon as canal barges can be built in sufficient numbers to handle the ex-lake tonnage, canal rates will fall to their proper level, as they always have done in the past. Such water rates are not artificially regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission, but are governed by the law of supply and demand. If there be a demand for water carriers, they will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers to keep the canal rates down to the water level of freight rates, so that the all-water route down the Great Lakes, over the Erie and Oswego Barge Canals and over the ocean to European ports will be the most economical freight-route for American products to foreign markets.

Improved Terminal Facilities

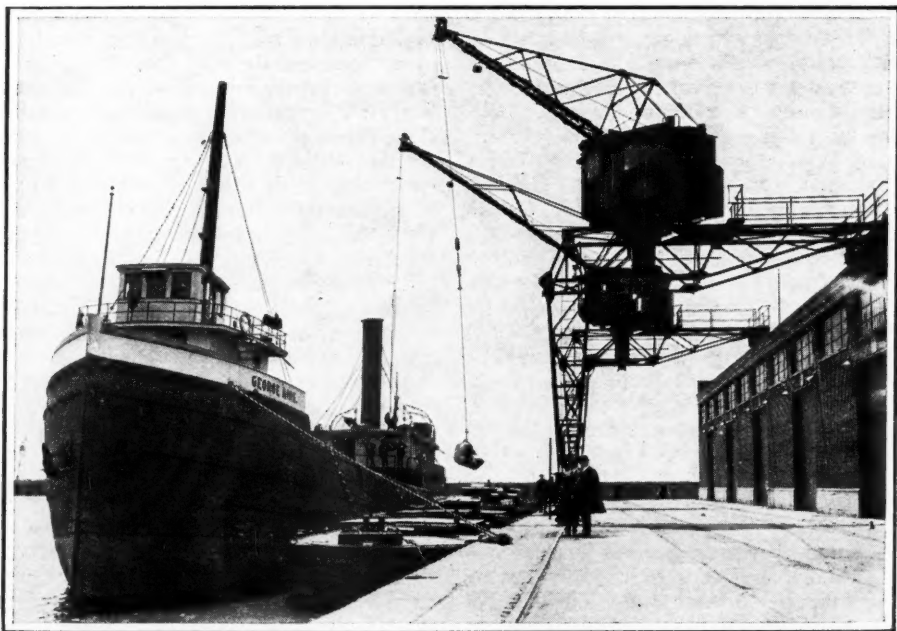
The State of New York has built a large grain elevator at Gowanus Bay in New York Harbor and is building another at Oswego on Lake Ontario, which will facilitate the transit of grain in large quantities through those ports. The State is equipping its canal terminals with modern loading devices and with cranes, electric battery tractors, and lifting magnets for transferring heavy, bulky cargoes from canal barges to ocean vessels, and vice versa. Freight-handling appliances have been installed at various canal terminals. Canal traffic is continually increasing as a result of the installation of these improvements in freight-handling facilities made by the Superintendent of Public Works, Hon. Charles L. Cadle. During the season of canal navigation of 1922 there were transported millions of bushels of grain from Buffalo to New York. Canal barges with cargoes of grain from Lake Superior ports in 1921 and of shipments of tons of paper from Thorold, Canada, in 1922 passed from the ports of origin down the Great Lakes through the New York canals to the port of New York without breaking bulk at either Buffalo or Oswego. Canal barges

have also transported many cargoes from the seaboard to upper-lake ports without reshipment on Great Lakes vessels.

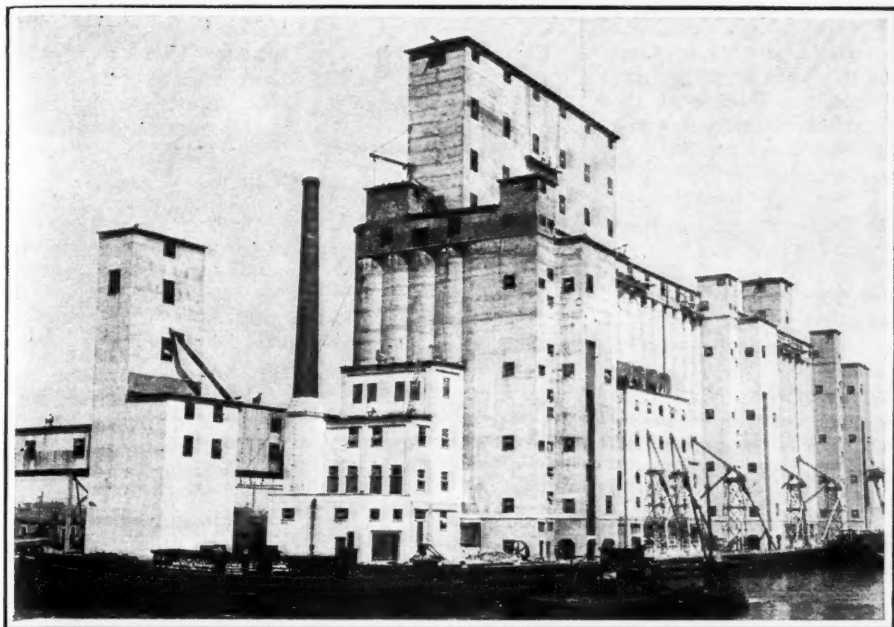
Increasing West-Bound Traffic

Such west-bound tonnage will continue to increase as the Atlantic, intra-coastal waterways, extending from Maine to Florida and far up into the interior of the Atlantic and Gulf States, are brought into navigable communication with one another and with the Barge Canals of New York, thus effecting through transportation by water of the products of the Gulf, Atlantic and Great Lakes States.

Such tonnage will be still further augmented when the proposed canal of the Barge Canal type is constructed and in operation between the Ohio River and Lake Erie, bringing into navigable communication the commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi River systems with the canals of New York. With such an extensive network of canals of the barge type connecting many of the States east of the Mississippi, this country will be able to handle economically its water-borne tonnage as expeditiously as France and Germany transported their products of mines, factories and fields over their networks of intercommunicating water-



TRANSFERRING SUGAR AT BUFFALO FROM BARGES TO LAKE STEAMER



THE GRAIN ELEVATOR BUILT BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK AT THE GOWANUS BAY TERMINAL OF THE BARGE CANAL, ON THE BROOKLYN SECTION OF THE NEW YORK CITY WATERFRONT (Another large grain elevator is being erected by the State on Lake Ontario. Western grain destined for export will thus go by Lake steamer to Oswego, thence via the barge canal to the Port of New York.)

ways before the World War. The New York Barge Canals were the first of the great system which promises now to be an important part of the American barge canal system, affording navigable communication between most of the States east of the Mississippi River and along its banks.

Transportation of Wheat

The New York canals are capacious enough to admit of the transportation through them of all the grains and other products, either natural or manufactured, originating in the Great Lakes territory, that now are or ever will be shipped to the sea either for export or for coastwise distribution. These great waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean are free highways open for the use of the Western farmers and manufacturers, who have paid nothing towards their cost and pay nothing for their maintenance. The State of New York has borne the entire cost of their construction, which amounts to date to \$167,123,774, and it also bears the annual expense of their maintenance and operation of upwards of a million dollars. Furthermore, the district comprising the Port of

New York is expending \$500,000,000 on its port development for the transit of outgoing, incoming and domestic commerce. Buffalo has already expended millions of dollars in elevators and other port facilities. Troy and Albany will become ocean ports as soon as the projected deepening of the Hudson River to Troy is completed, so that canal barges may there meet ocean-going vessels.

The average cost of transportation for the period 1910-1915 per bushel of wheat from the Great Lakes via lake, canal and ocean—the all-water route—through New York to Liverpool, was 10.73 cents which included the incidental terminal charges. That gross rate of 10.73 cents per bushel included elevator, storage, insurance, transportation and all other charges. It is believed that the recent transportation charges from Buffalo to New York will be materially reduced when the New York Barge Canals are fully equipped with fleets of vessels to their maximum capacity, and that capacity is adequate to carry all the present tonnage of the Great Lakes destined for export.

A dozen or more transportation companies have been formed to operate their

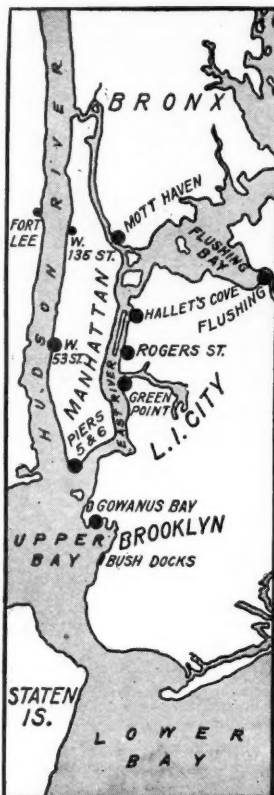
barges over the New York canals. Undoubtedly others will be able to carry from Buffalo and Oswego all the Great Lakes tonnage, destined for export or for Atlantic coastwise distribution.

Under normal conditions, less than ten million tons, or one-tenth of the tonnage of the Great Lakes, reaches the seacoast, and the New York Barge Canals have a tonnage capacity of twenty million tons, or twice the tonnage that will be required for that purpose.

For the fifteen-year period prior to the World War, the wheat production in the United States, as shown by the report of the Tariff Commission, did not keep pace with the increase in population. As industrial centers and cities increase in population, thereby greatly increasing domestic consumption of wheat and other cereals, while the lands producing those grains are becoming more exhausted, the time will come (and Mr. Hoover said in ten years) when all the wheat and other cereals produced

in the United States will be consumed in this country and there will be no wheat or other cereals to export, unless the country enters upon intensive farming to increase production. There is no immediate prospect of that being done, when farms are being abandoned and young men are being attracted to and locating in cities and large centers of population.

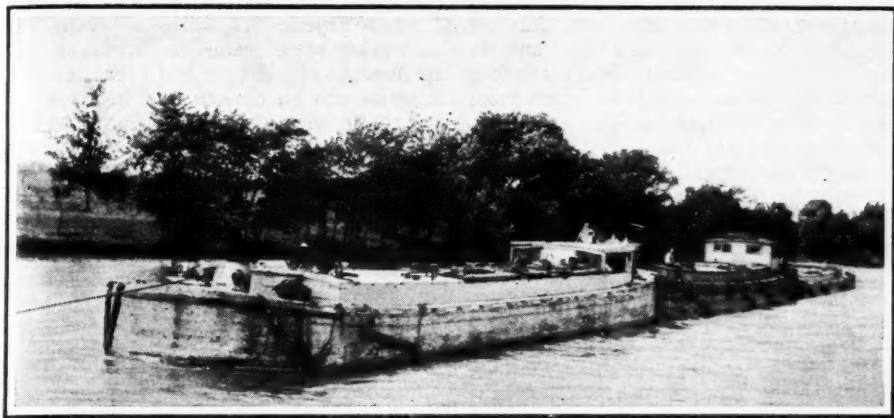
The New York Barge Canals are the product of the best engineering talent of the country, acting in connection with the most expert authorities on transportation by water, and after long investigations by national and State commissions as to the most feasible water route between the Great Lakes and the sea, and they are considered the best type of waterways for that purpose. When the equipment is completed, as it soon will be, and they are in operation to their full capacity, they may transport annually twenty million tons of freight as economically and more expeditiously than any other waterways in America.



CANAL TERMINALS AND PIERS ALONG THE WATER FRONT OF NEW YORK CITY



ENTRANCE TO THE BARGE CANAL TERMINAL IN LOWER MANHATTAN, NEW YORK CITY



A TYPICAL FLEET OF BOATS ON THE NEW YORK BARGE CANAL, LOADED WITH NITRATE OF SODA

III. A MODERN CANAL VOYAGE FROM LAKE ERIE TO THE HUDSON

BY CHARLES E. OGDEN

ABOUT twenty years ago the people of the State of New York decided by referendum in favor of building the present Barge Canal. There was then a respectable minority which believed a ship canal, capable of floating ocean-going vessels, would be the better solution of the State's water transportation problem. The majority vote followed the report of a commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt to examine the whole situation, and this body of experts strongly favored the barge idea. Their report held that it would be cheaper, quicker, and more practical to transfer cargoes at New York and Buffalo than to run an ocean vessel through five hundred miles of restricted waterways into lakes which had few or no harbor provisions for docking salt-water ships.

Recently, the advocates of a ship canal have accepted another route via the St. Lawrence River, by which they allege ocean vessels may reach the Great Lakes and moor at their principal ports. The enterprise was to be international, with the United States and Canada joining hands in the undertaking. Canada seemed willing, and several of our western States were convinced they could send their grain and raw materials to the old world and receive richly laden cargoes in return. These forces joined

heartily in the spread of the St. Lawrence propaganda.

In the meantime, the Governor of the State of New York, to use his own expression, had been "sold to the Barge Canal." He had made a trip of inspection through its waters, and had been deeply impressed with its possibilities. "It is wonderful," he declared, "and it should be better known." He started in to do his share toward giving it publicity, and his activity soon brought him into contact with the proponents of the deeper St. Lawrence proposition. He did not falter, but went on with his program for the Barge Canal. Unwittingly, he did a big job of advertising for it by bringing it to the front as a part of a debate which involved the whole national waterways problem. Governor Miller went to Washington, where the St. Lawrence bill was before Congress, and argued against it, having as his chief opponent the eloquent Governor Allen, of Kansas. Then the battleground was transferred to the Middle West, and, oddly enough, the New York Governor made more friends than enemies there. The Westerners gave him credit for the honesty and courage of his convictions. His final dictum was: "If the State of New York can be shown that the St. Lawrence route will do what its proponents claim, we will favor

it"; and it won a host of friends. His big plea, however, was that the Barge Canal be given the chance which it deserves before embarking upon an enterprise which most seamen declare impracticable.

Anyone who has been over the Barge Canal can understand the New York Governor's enthusiasm, and his championship of its merits. I had the pleasure of making such a trip from Buffalo to Albany on a scow fitted for habitation, which was towed by a tug. It proved a fascinating experience. One naturally thinks of canal travel as a slow process. The steam road, the trolley and the automobile, to say nothing of the airplane, have set the pace for swiftness until former ideas of speed have been eliminated. The dignified "chug-chug" of the tug's engine and the smooth riding motion of the barge have nothing in common with the rumbling traffic of the highways and the pavements.

As one comes under the influence of the gliding movement of the canal craft, he wonders why the outside world cares to move so fast. On the canal, as one becomes accustomed to its calmness and beauty, the thought of speed gives place to a sense of serene delight, found in many wonderful landscapes and the simple life.

When I boarded the boat at Buffalo I wondered if a tedious and tiresome trip were before me. From the land I had viewed tugs and barges moving over the waters of the canal, and had rather pitied the boatman his life of apparently secluded and exclusive dreariness. After a few hours I

began to experience a change of heart. The slow-going vessel seemed to have a mission more wonderful than I had ever dreamed; it gives one an opportunity to think. I fell to studying the crew of the tug. The captain has his responsibilities. Plainly, he is trained to manage his craft at every turn; and if he has a fleet in tow he must gather the barges together in the locks, much as the mother hen gathers her brood of young chickens under her wings. The deck-hand is busy in his efforts to keep the decks clean and lines ready for instant use. The engineer and fireman toil with murky faces and grimy hands. But they all have their times of elegant leisure, when they gaze on landscapes of surpassing beauty and drink in quiet pastoral scenes which remind one of Thoreau or John Burroughs.

I wondered many times what these men were thinking about, and, when I essayed to talk to them, found their minds at ease, and their devotion to the canal unwavering.

"Once a boatman always a boatman," is a proverbial saying on the canal. It is applied to other callings, of course, but not always with so much absolute truth. Passing the Wayne County Almshouse, for instance, which is quite a pretentious structure, the captain remarked, in a jocular way, "There is my future home," and there was a twinkle in his eye, but his face took on a different expression as he added, "I could sit out and see the boats go by."

At dinner time the deck-hand and fireman appeared radiant from the generous use of soap. I asked the deck-hand how he

liked life on the canal. "First rate," he said; "plenty to eat, lots of sleep and fresh air, and a reasonable amount of work. Nothing better in the summer." And I was surprised, in the course of our conversation, to discover that he is a second-year student in Syracuse University, preparing for the law. He was making his next year's tuition on the canal.

Nothing could be finer than the good-natured railery of the engineer. He believes he has a mission in life in keeping his engine in first-class condition, although he expressed some



A MOTORSHIP AT THE BUFFALO TERMINAL, CARRYING 83,000 BUSHELS OF OATS

This canal boat is 242 feet in length and 36 feet wide



A POWER-BOAT AND ITS FLEET APPROACHING A LOCK NEAR SCHENECTADY, IN THE CANALIZED MOHAWK RIVER

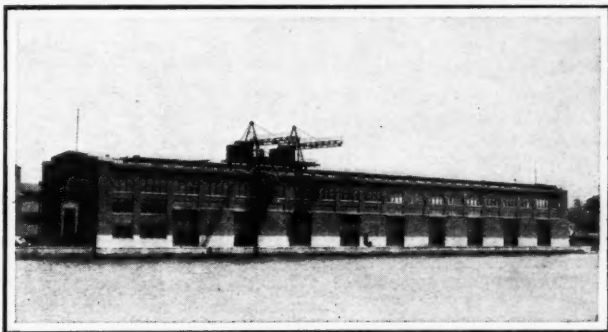
dissatisfaction about his equipment. "I like canaling," he declared, as we were slowing into a lock. "We have lots of fresh air and plenty of appetite. You don't have to fret yourself to death, and as long as the old engine is acting right I am content."

One studies life among these boatmen and comes to admire them. They constitute a clan among themselves. Our captain seemed to know the captain of every fleet we met. His "Hello, Joe," or "Bill," or "Jake," is always hearty, and meets with a cordial response. When there is talk from boat to boat across the water, it is generally about the load they are carrying and their destination. It is the eternal canal with all of them, and having been on its waters for a few days, I can understand why that is so. I am many times more of a boatman in my way of thinking than before I had taken this trip.

It will be necessary, however, as the canal comes into its own, and a regular, dependable and profitable service is firmly established, to improve the morale of its working forces. The Superintendent of Public Works has succeeded in doing this to a very marked degree so far as the State employees on the canal are concerned. The assistant superintendents, heads of divisions, and the men at the locks are men of character and are interested in the success of the

canal. The carrier corporations have set their faces in this direction. They are planning better accommodations on their boats for sleeping, eating and dressing. They hope to attract good men. There is no place on this modern waterway for the old-time "canal tough." He is not needed to preserve the romance of the canal. A different type—I was going to say, a more polished type—is necessary for a broader and more comprehensive canal movement. It will be composed of men who understand modern business conditions and demands, and who will find their work both pleasant and profitable.

Anyone who rides the length of New York State's great canal will be impressed with the splendid engineering feat that made it possible, as well as its wonderful scenic beauty. And when he stops to figure out its traffic possibilities, he will not consider it a slow-going method of transportation. For a boat-load of freight may easily make



THE CANAL TERMINAL AT ROCHESTER

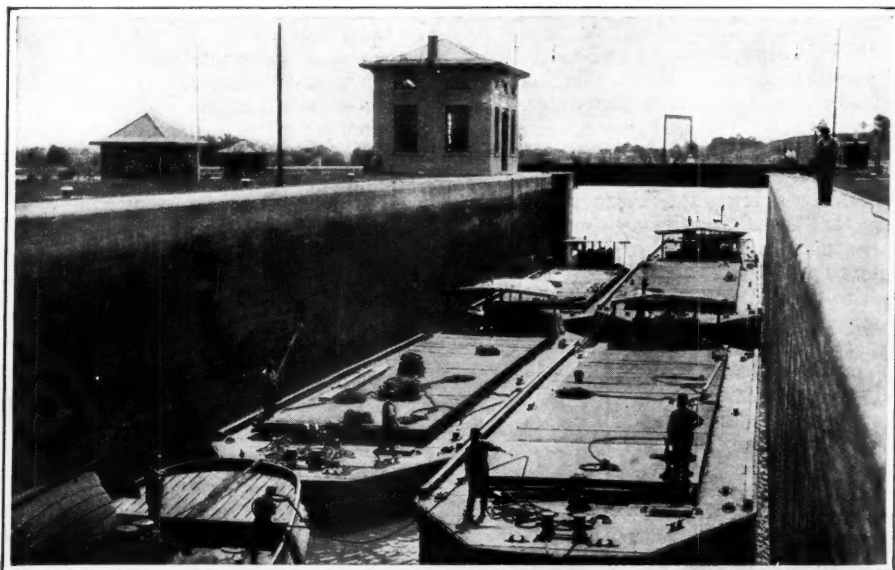
the length of the canal more quickly than the average carload goes from New York to Buffalo. A car may be side-tracked and shifted from one train to another. The boat, moving at a much slower pace, keeps steadily at it, and pulls through with surprising quickness. All boatmen believe it is easier to figure on the exact length of time required for a boat to reach its destination, and deliver its freight, than it is to estimate the length of time freight will be in the hands of the railroads.

It is said the waterways of the world offer the cheapest method of transportation. The captain of our tug was decidedly of this opinion. He told me that the tonnage on the canal is carried at a cost from 35 to 40 per cent. under the rail rates. This means an immense saving to shippers, and certainly must have a salutary effect, under normal conditions, in keeping freight rates down. No one wishes to "knock" the railroads. They are having a hard enough job to keep their cars moving and make both ends meet. The railroads have been a wonderful force for good in developing our resources and building up this continent. But experience has taught us that railroads can

be very exacting when everything is going their way. The competition of the canal thus proves a very wholesome check on them.

From Lake Erie this waterway winds its way through the most beautiful and picturesque fruit and farm lands into the heart of the Genesee country, until it reaches the Seneca River. It crosses lakes and traverses fertile territory, until it joins hands with the Mohawk River to make its way to the Hudson. It combines romance and poetry. "From the Great Lakes to the Sea" is its slogan, and it is its mission to unite the fresh water lakes with the ocean. Whether this could have been done by a ship canal is problematical. It has been done by the Barge Canal.

It took something like sixteen years to build the Barge Canal across New York State. When it was finished the World War came on, and Federal occupation of the canal stopped private enterprise from making investments in boats and equipment. All this is changed now, and as business returns to its normal activity the canal will prove as great a blessing to shippers as did the original Erie Canal a century ago.



A FLEET OF MODERN CANAL BOATS IN ONE OF THE LOCKS BETWEEN SYRACUSE AND ROCHESTER

THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

"SERVICE" THE SUPREME PURPOSE

BY WILL H. HAYS

ABOUT ten months ago the leaders in the motion picture industry, on their own initiative, inaugurated a new effort for the industry's improvement, and there has been much inquiry as to just what this new effort may be. It is merely that these men who make and distribute pictures, recognizing their duty and responsibility and determined to discharge it, have become associated to deal with those things in which they are mutually but non-competitively interested, having as the chief purposes of this organization two great objectives—and I quote from the formal articles of association, which have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, New York:

"Establishing and maintaining the highest possible moral and artistic standards in motion-picture production"; and,

"Developing the educational as well as the entertainment value and the general usefulness of the motion picture."

This is not a vague gentlemen's agreement; it is the legal statement of a legal purpose by a legally organized body. It creates no super-court autocratically to pass upon pictures, nor to do many of the other things which have been suggested. The purposes of the association are exactly those stated in their articles; and I respectfully suggest that no charter breathing more important purposes could well be found. It is a large service in which everyone is interested.

I. AWAKENED RESPONSIBILITIES

THE motion picture is an institution operating all around us, with which we are all familiar yet about which we know little. Its potentialities are recognized by few, and by many they are entirely misunderstood.

The fact is, it is a great *Institution of Service*, just as the Postal Establishment, the Newspaper, the Public School, and the Church are institutions of service.

Evil pictures have been produced, yes—but incalculable good has been accomplished. The motion picture has carried the silent call for virtue, honesty, ambition, patriotism, hope, love of country and of home; to audiences speaking twenty different languages but understanding in common the universal language of pictures. There may be fifty different languages spoken in this country; but the picture of a mother is the same in every language. It has brought to narrow lives a knowledge of the wide, wide world; it has clothed the empty

existence of far-off hamlets with joy; it has been the benefactor of uncounted millions.

In a little over twenty years, the motion picture has grown from a mere idea until to-day it is the principal amusement of the great majority of all our people and the sole amusement of millions and millions. It is not only one of the greatest industries in the country, but it is an instrument and means of immeasurable education and moral influence; and we must not forget that even as we serve the leisure hours of the people with right diversion so do we rivet the girders of society.

It is our earnest purpose to stimulate the development of the spirit of service among all branches of the industry. The camera-man performs a service when he clicks his camera. The operator in the booth contributes a public service, when he handles the projector. The director, author, actor, mechanic, and exhibitor, all serve the public, just as do the producer and distributor. Everyone must know that he is a partner in this industry, with-

out whose wholehearted coöperation we cannot succeed.

The motion-picture theater owner builds a structure in which to show pictures, but he also builds an institution to exert an influence for good. The motion-picture theater is an asset to a community. The public has just begun to realize the influence of motion pictures upon thought, taste, conduct and morals, and the consequent influence upon our national life.

It may be that the makers of motion pictures have not been as alert as they should have been in sensing their responsibility; but it is true that the men who pioneered in this industry have already accomplished marvelous things. It has been like an Arabian Nights story. There is little wonder that these crowded years have been, in some respects, a chaos. The development of this industry is analogous to the development of no other. When keen men saw the commercial possibilities in it, they set out in feverish haste on the world-old quest for gold, just as the Forty-niners did when the word came from Sutter's Hill that sent them around Cape Horn and overland across desert, mountain, and plain, un-

daunted by peril, hardship, or savage. Picture pioneers set out to dig gold just as men went to get it in Alaska when the Klondike flashed the golden invitation to the spirit of adventure.

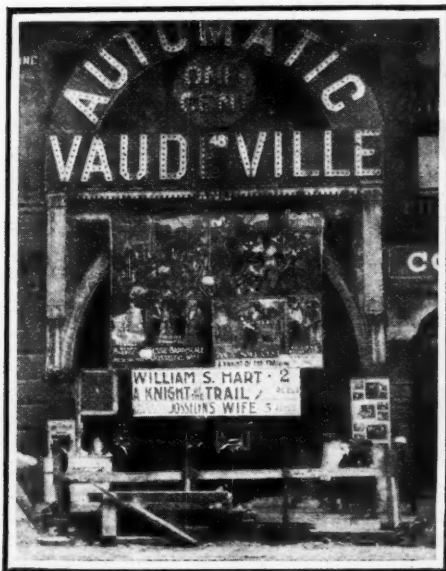
Nor do we forget, as a matter of history, that while the pioneer in any business is always a romantic figure, his conduct frequently does not measure up to the best boarding-school standards. Force and trickery and even homicide were common incidents in the opening of yesterday's oil fields, and in the mighty struggle for supremacy of the railroads of the country. It is strongly suspected, too, that commerce was begun in piracy, and we know that organized society itself was born in the little group which lifted its hand against all other groups in the fierce, skin-clad clan which knew no law but violence and no purpose but the defense of its own cave.

It is a far cry from many phases of the development of those industries to the development of this; but there is not an entire absence of analogy. There has been competition of the fiercest kind, of course. There has been no opportunity for adequate reflection. The mere physical and mechanical expansion of the early years has been so rapid and so great that there was neither time nor the proper mood to consider adequately the moral and educational responsibility inherent in this great new thing.

II. TWENTY YEARS' GROWTH

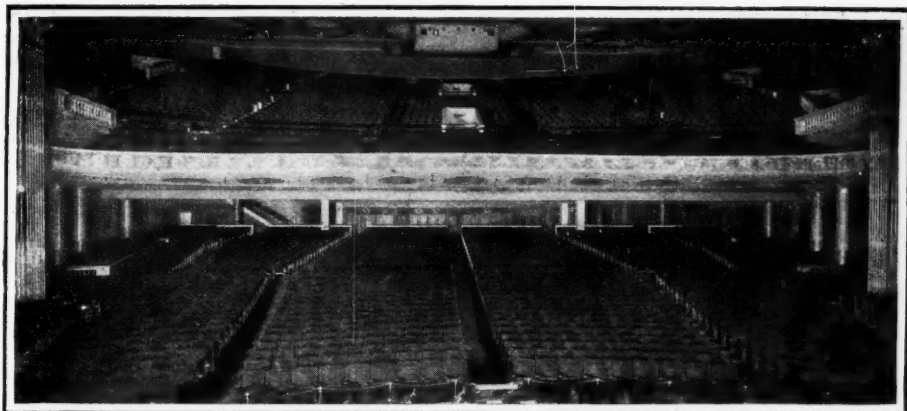
But those days are over. At the end of this period of incredibly compressed physical, mechanical, financial, and artistic development, the pioneers have caught their second breath. They find themselves the responsible leaders and custodians of one of the greatest industries in the world, with limitless commercial possibilities and perhaps more income than all the public utilities in the country combined. The business is seeking and is finding a firm anchor, in the same way that banking and manufacturing and other mercantile enterprises have done. Sober business men, with vision clarified, old rivals now seeing their common interest, know better than anyone else that the future of the business, as well as the future of society, demands better and still better pictures.

The motion picture as we know it to-day is the product of the last two decades, and was not possible until the perfection of cel-



ONE OF THE EARLIEST MOTION-PICTURE HOUSES IN NEW YORK CITY

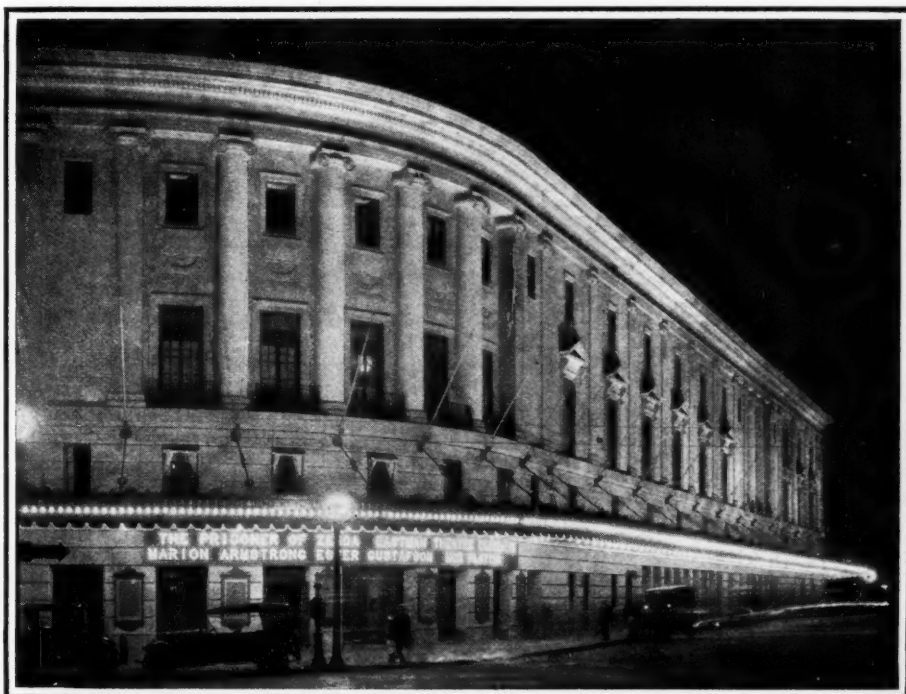
(The "one cent" sign referred to slot machines in the lobby, operated by the turning of a crank by the person who wished to see the picture. But the improved motion picture was then making its appearance, and the posters shown advertise a two-reel western film. The price of admission to such a picture was five cents)



THE INTERIOR OF THE CAPITOL THEATER, NEW YORK CITY—SAID TO BE THE LARGEST THEATER IN THE WORLD, SEATING 5300 PERSONS, DEVOTED TO MOTION PICTURES

luloid for rotating the films. This has all been developed since the World's Fair of 1893. A flickering motion picture of a bicycle parade on Fifth Avenue, when there was less congestion than now, and a picture

of a man sawing wood, were shown in a Boston museum in the summer of 1896. Motion pictures were soon shown thereafter in vaudeville but not in places regularly devoted to motion pictures until about 1903.



THE NEW EASTMAN THEATER, IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.

(The theater is a gift of George Eastman to the University of Rochester, built primarily as a motion-picture house but operated and maintained for the promotion of musical interests generally. The building houses a School of Music as well as the theater, is located on Rochester's main business street, and has a total frontage of 367 feet. There is a seating capacity of 3358)

The first crude efforts at motion pictures amused but did not suggest immeasurable future possibilities. To-day, toiling motion-picture cameras are "shooting" ceaselessly all over the world—at midnight, at noon, in thousands of workshops and laboratories, on streets and byways, in glaring studios and outdoors, in battle and in peace, on the earth, in the air, or under the sea. They are endlessly turning out their mighty values for the world of amusement, business, government, history, religion and education.

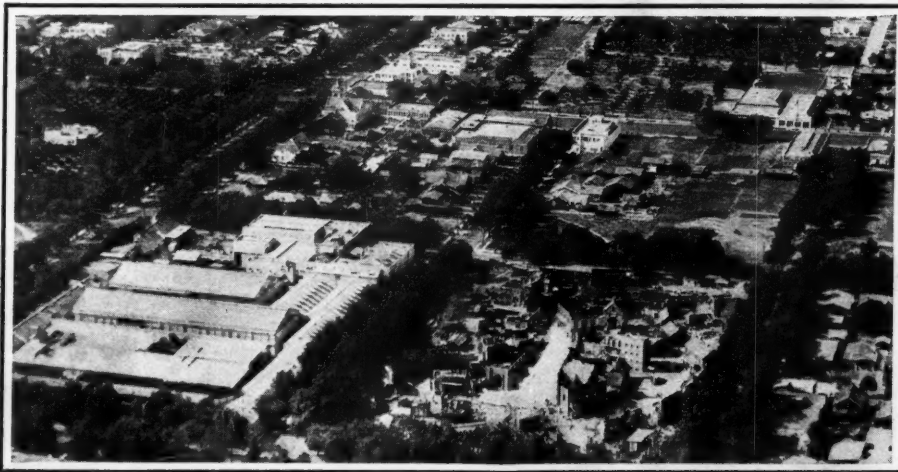
Primarily an instrument of amusement, new uses are developed almost every day. Surgery is taught by motion pictures; secretion of glands is studied by motion pictures; many old-time remedial measures of medicine are supplanted by motion pictures; milder forms of insanity and mental instability, as well as several forms of nervousness, are being cured by motion pictures. They are, in many hospitals, a part of the treatment of children.

Motion pictures are used to demonstrate machines and inventions to prospective buyers who sit in their office chairs and view the projection of the apparatus on the screen, which they will not go miles to see in actual operation. Every "movie" fan is acquainted with the slow-motion effect that can be obtained in pictures, which enables the eye to see the most minute movements of every intricate mechanism.

Instead of spending three days in inspecting properties upon which a bond issue was to be floated, representatives of important bond houses recently spent three hours seeing the properties in motion pictures and then purchased the bonds. A stock-breeder clinched his deal with his prospects through motion pictures. Goods are sold at home and in foreign countries through motion pictures. During the trying times of soldiers in camp and during the lull in battle, motion pictures maintained that all-important factor—the morale.

Chambers of commerce are using motion pictures in place of speakers to promote civic interests, such as zoning, recreation and city management. Legends, stories, and local historical events are perpetuated, and religious, civic, and charitable movements are made successful by motion pictures. The flight of a bullet can now be seen in motion pictures. Voice waves shown by motion pictures are studied by telephone engineers in connection with problems of long-distance telephony. The secrets of nature are revealed to the eye by motion pictures.

The Agricultural Department has more than half a million feet of motion-picture films which are used in the promotion of farming and stock-raising. Other Government establishments use the motion picture to show their activities.



AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF ONE OF THE GREAT MOTION-PICTURE STUDIOS IN THE COLONY AT HOLLYWOOD, IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

(Indoor scenes are made in the building at the left, where also are the mechanical plants. Outdoor "sets" are shown in the foreground toward the right. In the distance are some of the homes of actors, directors, and other employees. The use of motion pictures taken from airplanes, to show the character of land and developments, is becoming increasingly important)



INSIDE A MOTION-PICTURE STUDIO—WHERE A DOZEN SCENES, IN AS MANY DIFFERENT PLAYS, PERHAPS, MAY BE PHOTOGRAPHED AT THE SAME TIME

(Electric-light wires, dropping from the ceiling, give some idea of the illuminating difficulties met and overcome in the development of the industry)

III. MAGNITUDE OF THE INDUSTRY

Millions and millions of dollars are invested by theater owners in the theaters. There is an investment in real estate, equipment, and property of approximately \$500,000,000, without including the investment in allied business which has sprung up to supply the wants of the motion-picture industry. There is probably \$50,000,000 paid annually in salaries and wages, \$200,000,000 spent annually in production, and possibly \$600,000,000 taken in each year for admissions.

Exportation of American-made pictures continued large during 1921, although under the peak established during the previous year. We exported 140,878,345 linear feet of film in 1921, valued at \$6,513,567. In 1913 we had exported only 32,192,018 feet of motion pictures. Canada, Australia, England, Argentina and France lead in the use of our films, Canada using over 18,000,000 feet and Australia nearly as much.

These are large figures, and as a business the industry now commands the respect of the commercial world.

There are about 15,000 regularly operated motion-picture houses in the United States, with several more thousands operated only during the winter or summer season or once or twice a week.

From the "Nickelodeon" of a decade ago, where motion pictures were shown in some old storeroom for a nickel admission price, to the three or four million dollar theater devoted exclusively to motion pictures, seating several thousand, with unexcelled orchestration and pipe-organ accompaniment, with stage and lighting effects unsurpassed, is an amazing record of progress. All these developments surrounding motion pictures have been so gradual and steady that we fail usually to appreciate the vast improvement of every phase of the industry.

The motion-picture business has its production, sales, and retail branches just as

in other industries, which are represented by the producer, distributor, and exhibitor.

Knowledge of the motion-picture industry, to many people, is limited to their own neighborhood theater. They do not realize how many persons find employment in the industry, nor how much the human element enters into it. In production plants and studios, in distributing organizations located in forty different large cities in the United States and at thirty points abroad, and in 15,000 theaters throughout the United States, there are probably 150,000 men and women employed.

The magnitude of the industry may be grasped from a recital of a few of the estimated larger items of expense of the motion-picture business, omitting the exhibiting branch. From the producing end nearly \$5,000,000 annually—and many more millions from the theaters—go into advertising, such as newspapers, magazines, trade papers, handbills, theater programs, etc. Perhaps \$2,000,000 more go for glass slides, lobby photographs, mats, window cards and posters; another \$2,000,000 are spent for lithographs. Lastly, \$3,000,000 are spent for printing and engraving.

Thus the newspaper, magazine, advertiser, printer, engraver, typesetter, photographer, lithographer, artists, bookbinders, ink and paper manufacturers, bill-posters, and their help, are all benefited by these immense sums spent.

Whole cities are built for motion pictures. The item for material and labor in "sets" will reach over \$5,000,000 annually. Millions of feet of lumber are used, from pegs to palaces. Thus the lumberman, carpenters, builders, and architects come in for benefits. The clothing trade benefits to

nearly \$1,000,000 in the wardrobes of the studios. All manner of costumes, modern and medieval, are kept and made. The drapery departments contain rare fabrics, priceless tapestry, and modern textiles. Furniture of every period is made or the originals purchased. Wild and domestic animals and birds are kept, and plant nurseries are maintained; for everything must be true to form in motion pictures. The railroads and hotels receive almost \$5,000,000 annually through travel expenses of the industry. Hundreds of thousands of metal cases are used for shipping films, benefiting the metal trade, not to mention the cameras and projecting machines. Cost of transporting films by express and parcel post is enormous, and the insurance runs into large sums. Real estate and rents figure in an important way, both in ground and buildings of the producing plants and in the theaters. The electrical trade, the coal industry, the electric power companies, the telegraph and telephone, the optical trade, and the automobile industry all participate in the benefits. The film industry furnishes not far from one billion feet of films annually to the motion-picture producers, enough to encircle the earth eight times.

Every time one pays an admission to his neighborhood theater, a large portion of it goes to benefit men and women employed in the supplying industries the world over.

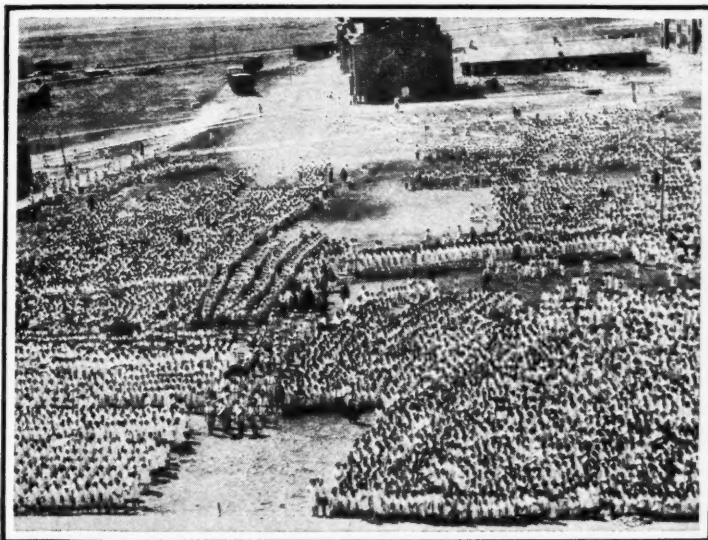
IV. THE NEWS REEL: A NEW AGENCY FOR RECORDING HISTORY

How many of those who attend a motion-picture theater ever think of how the modern news reels, which picture events from all parts of the world, are obtained?

How many realize that the admission ticket is railroad and steamship transportation around the world? The Mississippi River, the towering Alps, the Pyramids of Egypt, the girls in the Maine salmon packing houses, the latest invention, the train wreck in the far West, the Smyrna horror, the Chilean earthquake, the Facista uprising in Italy, the burial of a statesman, an inauguration of a President, a political convention, this



ONE OF THE STUDIOS IN THE NEW MOTION-PICTURE CENTER BEING DEVELOPED ON LONG ISLAND, NEAR NEW YORK CITY



THE TRAGEDY IN ARMENIA, AS RECORDED AND PRESERVED BY THE MOTION-PICTURE CAMERA

(Seventeen thousand orphans in the Near East Relief station at Alexandropol, Russian Armenia—a picture which tells the story of recent Turkish atrocities with a degree of impressiveness not attained by words)

and that event, at home or 10,000 miles away, all are there before us.

The news reel service of the motion-picture industry is so well organized to-day that there is a camera-man, called "The Minute Man of the Movies," stationed in almost every important center of the civilized world. He is assigned to a certain territory, literally sleeping with his trusty "box" ready for instant service when anything happens in his territory. He gets to the place by train, auto, boat, or air. He gets there. When he has taken his pictures, then by the fastest methods he sends the films back to the central office. To-day the motion-picture camera-man of the news reel service rivals the newspaper correspondent in importance. *Through his efforts the world is becoming one big family.* The motion-picture news reels are carrying messages of public importance—Red Cross, Near East Relief, "educational week," "safety first"—to millions of people who would not be influenced by other means. Instead of reading vague descriptions of events we see them in motion pictures just as they are; the camera is incapable of presenting them otherwise.

The first motion pictures of a major event now on record are those of the inauguration of President McKinley, on March

4, 1897—nearly twenty-six years ago. Recently these old films were dug from dark corners of vaults, new prints were made and shown to audiences all over the United States, together with inauguration scenes of President Wilson in 1913. People eagerly looked at these past events in pictures. The beloved martyred McKinley moving about as if alive has been an inspiration. Think of what future generations will see. We get a

glimpse of the past in this McKinley picture. Imagine the thrill if we could see motion pictures taken of Abraham Lincoln. Dwell then, if you will, upon what motion pictures have stored up for future generations concerning the World War.



A SCENE FROM A MOTION PICTURE TAKEN DURING THE SAN FRANCISCO FIRE, SIXTEEN YEARS AGO

(It has not been generally known that news reels began recording history further back, even, than this event of 1906. The picture here shown helps us to realize what pleasure and instruction are in store for coming generations)



REPRODUCING FOR THE "MOVIES" THE FAMOUS SCENE AT PROMONTORY POINT, UTAH, IN MAY, 1869, WHEN THE CENTRAL PACIFIC MET THE UNION PACIFIC AND THE LAST SPIKE IN THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD WAS DRIVEN

(The scene is one from the film "In the Days of Buffalo Bill," and is printed here to show the aim of the motion-picture people to reproduce faithfully and with every effort at accuracy conditions which obtained in historic periods and places)

Historical episodes of the past two decades are being gathered, beginning with the McKinley pictures and including the great San Francisco fire of 1906, the birth of aviation, and the coronation of King George. Other major events are being resurrected from the film vaults, which will give chapters of American history as recorded by motion pictures. These chapters will be added to in the course of time, and for each generation the pictures will hold new interest. Thus do motion pictures keep alive, in the minds and hearts of the people, the deeds of men and American ideals.

Brady recorded with his primitive plate camera the scenes of the Civil War to a degree of accuracy that no painter or artist could ever attain. The actual photograph of the lone dead Confederate sharpshooter in a secluded spot and that of the lonedead Union soldier left on the bloody wheat field at Gettysburg tell stories of loyalty and devotion

to ideals which no brush or pen can tell. The camera-man of the World War will be more than Brady to future generations.

The pioneer motion pictures of current events were made in 1910 of one reel, taken by rambling camera-men "shooting" here and there without any direction from a central headquarters. There were no organized efforts to secure news reels until about 1913. Prior to that time newspapers maintained photographic exchanges where they kept "still" photographs for publication. The early camera-men of motion pictures were photographers untrained as to the news value of a picture. Gradually

they were supplanted by regular news photographers who had the same keen sense of news as that of a news reporter.

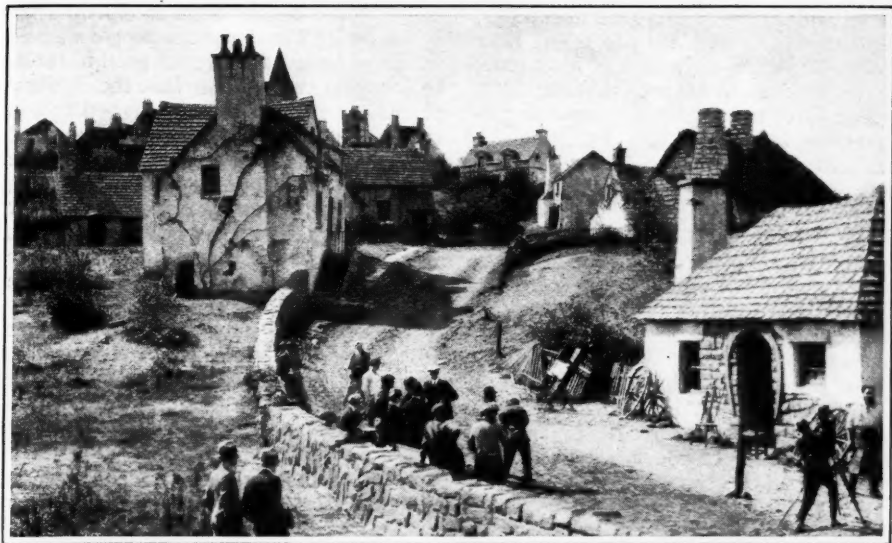
To-day the five large news-reel corporations are as thoroughly organized for pictorially recording events as are the big press associations and the great newspapers.

The inau-
lat



A UNION PACIFIC ENGINE OF THE YEAR 1869

(From a photograph, used as an aid in reconstructing the scene above)



RECONSTRUCTING ON LONG ISLAND (N. Y.), IN EVERY VISIBLE DETAIL, THE SCOTCH VILLAGE OF THRUMS

ration of President Harding was at noon. Motion pictures of this event were shown at 7:30 o'clock the same evening in New York City and in Chicago on the following evening. This was accomplished by airplane and fast trains. The development of the airplane has meant the cutting down of time for the news reel, as the telegraph key did for the newspaper. It was ten days after McKinley was inaugurated, in 1897, that the first crude motion pictures of the event were shown in Chicago. These events of 1897 and 1921 illustrate the marvelous advance in the motion-picture industry.

When the German troops marched into Brussels in 1914, an American motion-picture man filmed the event. First he pictured the movements of the German troops, then those of the Belgian, trying to get both sides. Finally he was shot by the Germans as a spy. Many will remember, too, that the German super-submarine, thought to be a phantom only, was eventually shown to be a reality by motion pictures. A daring American motion-picture man took these pictures from a port-hole in a Dutch steamer carrying him from Holland to England, which had been stopped by the submarine. When he reached England his pictures were developed; and for the first time the British Admiralty—and later Americans—saw, through motion pic-

tures, the much-discussed but previously invisible German super-submarine.

Not until 1920 did the American people have any adequate conception of what a national political convention looked like. It was shown them then for the first time by motion pictures. I assume that anything which will show people exactly what a national political convention really is like, probably ought to be encouraged.

Prior to 1914 the motion-picture camera-man was ignored. Even at the opening of the World War most officials utterly failed to appreciate the value of motion pictures, and forced these men out of the war area as useless impediments. Every day since the value of motion pictures has grown in public estimation, until now a motion-picture camera-man may go anywhere; and his presence at public events is eagerly sought.

The Pope was filmed in motion pictures in 1920 for the first time, and by an American camera-man; another one "sold" an idea to the Sultan of Turkey and by so doing got the first moving pictures of the Sultan; another spent eight months in Bolshevik Russia, and got pictures of the starving people and of the Soviet leaders.

During the burning of Smyrna, an American camera-man went three days with but a crust of bread as food. Pictures of that awful event were shown in America within fourteen days. Pictures of active vol-

canoes, wide canyons, lofty mountain peaks, and dangerous waterfalls are taken from airplanes. In the early days of news reels, night pictures were not possible; but radium flares now make night motion pictures possible.

It is true that motion pictures enable millions to enjoy the benefits of travel in the wildest regions, without risk and at negligible expense. All the world is being filmed, and the pictures are bringing home to us, as nothing else could except an actual trip, the appearance of the various countries, the life of the inhabitants, their customs and manners.

We have an enormous advantage in this respect over the people who lived before motion pictures were invented. There is scarcely a boy or girl who does not now have a vivid and fairly accurate idea of numerous places of which he had only a vague conception until he saw them in motion pictures. The life of the Indians of the Amazon country of South America and the Indians of the picturesque Acoma pueblo in New Mexico have been filmed recently; and an expedition has gone to take motion pictures of Tibet and its famous Hidden City of Lhasa, together with things sacred to Buddha.

V. GOOD PICTURES, AND CENSORSHIP

It has been said repeatedly that certain objectionable pictures which have been made are the class of pictures which the public wants, and that such productions have been meeting the demands of the

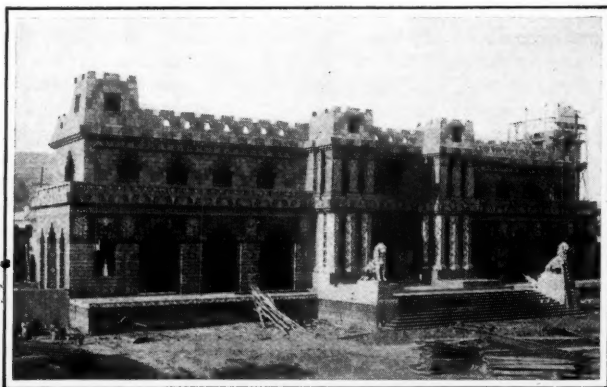
public, based on box office receipts. That is not true. The American people want—and must have—nothing but good pictures. One way for the public to help the industry to make good pictures is easy; and that is to support the good pictures. I am not suggesting an alibi for the motion-picture business, for that business is coming through on the highway that leads to better pictures. I am only emphasizing that this is not a one-man job, nor the job of a single group; it is a task for the multitude, and in doing it there is work for all.

The American public, of course, is the real censor for the motion picture, just as it is for the press and the pulpit. The people of this country are against censorship fundamentally—against censorship of press, against censorship of pulpit, and against censorship of pictures. But just as certainly is this country against wrong doing; and the demand for censorship will fail when the reason for the demand is removed. As the motion-picture industry moves toward the consummation of its newer ideals, just in like degree all demands for censorship will recede.

An interesting thing happened in Massachusetts at this last election. In 1921 a bill was passed by the legislature providing for a censorship of motion pictures, and under a Massachusetts statute came before the voters for approval. So, at this election, the people of the Bay State had opportunity to vote directly as to whether or not there should be a political censorship of this method of expression. When the Act was originally passed there had been generous support of the measure

and many civic and religious organizations favored its enactment. Last summer, however, some three hundred splendid Massachusetts men and women formed a citizens' committee and made it their own fight. The newspapers took it up and were practically a unit in declaring for the defeat of the measure, with full appreciation of the fact that it is not so much the length of the step as the direction of the step that is important in anything.

It is well known that



SOLOMON'S TEMPLE AS RECONSTRUCTED BY THE "MOVIE" CARPENTER

(One of the largest "sets" ever built)

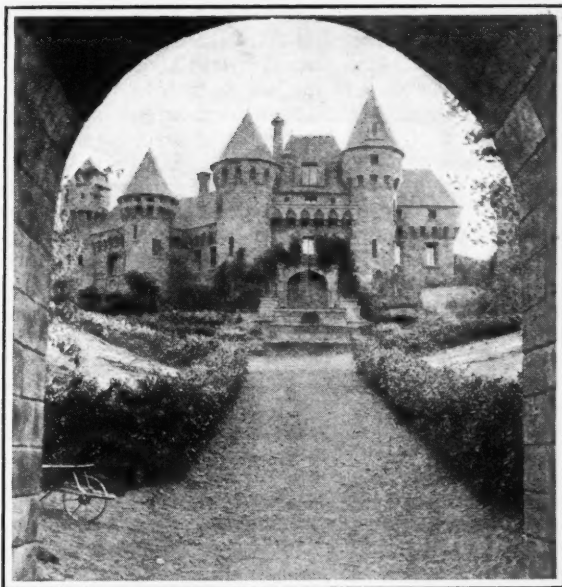
the vote on any referendum question or constitutional amendment is usually but a small part of the vote cast for the political offices. With this in mind, the result of this Massachusetts referendum is most remarkable. The vote against censorship was 552,345 and the vote for censorship was 210,500: a majority against censorship of 341,845. The largest number of votes cast for any candidate for any office on any ticket was that cast for the successful candidate for Governor, 468,277, which was 84,000 less than the "no" vote on censorship. I rather think this is an unprecedented performance; it certainly shows the deep interest that people have in pictures.

This rejection of censorship was a splendid response to the appeal of the press and the citizens of Massachusetts against undue political aggression. But just as certainly is it a challenge to the motion-picture industry to work out successfully its own program for betterment; and that responsibility is accepted by the industry and will be discharged.

I am against political censorship, of course, because political censorship will not do what is hoped for it, in the last analysis. Now and then some one might ask: "If the motion-picture producers really mean to make better pictures, why do they object to political censorship?" The chief answer to this was written when human nature was formed, at least that part of human nature which is doing business under the Stars and Stripes; and that answer consists of one word—Liberty.

The motion-picture business objects to political censorship for one great reason: because it is un-American. Political censorship drove the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock; political censorship faced the Minute Men at Concord; political censorship caused the Boston Tea Party; in this new effort to control politically a great method of expression, Massachusetts has taken a characteristically American position.

Now, there is one place and one place only where any evil in motion pictures can be eliminated and the good and great advan-



THE FRENCH CASTLE THAT WAS PLUNDERED BY THE GERMANS IN "THE FOUR HORSEMEN"
(Built by American carpenters in California)

tages retained, and that is at the point where and the time when the pictures are made, by the men who make them. Right is right and wrong is wrong, and men know right from wrong. The corrections can be made, real evil can and must be kept out, the highest standards of art, taste, and morals can be achieved; and it is primarily the duty of the producers to do it.

There is great force in a recent statement made by Dean Charles N. Lathrop, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in a report on motion pictures made on behalf of the Federal Council of Churches. He says: "*All efforts should be positive and constructive. Emphasis should be placed on the encouragement of the good rather than the suppression of the evil. And the motion-picture screen should be thought of and talked of not as a troublesome problem but as one of the chief assets of the community for education and betterment.*"

VI. NON-THEATRICAL FILMS

The non-theatrical demand and supply is one of the big questions before the motion-picture industry. Personally, it is a hobby with me, and from the time this work was first brought to my attention

until now I have urged constantly, both in public and in private, that there should be films in churches and schools everywhere. Much has been done in the last six months toward developing a satisfactory demand in this field.

The problem which faces all of us is to find some plan of coöperation which will provide film material for instructional use in schools and colleges, and suitable films for churches and welfare organizations; some plan which will secure the active coöperation of theater owners and public leaders, and which will safeguard against harmful competition between non-theatrical and theatrical groups. These matters, which are merely incident to the youth and tremendous expansion of the business, can be worked out satisfactorily without question.

The problem of semi-religious and semi-educational films is not so extensive as that of pedagogic films, but is much more difficult. No one is against pedagogic films in the classroom, and there is no objection to purely religious films in the churches. The matter, therefore, of pedagogic films and purely religious films presents no problem save only that of providing an organized demand and an organized supply. However, in developing the industry as regards organized demand and supply of semi-religious and semi-educational films, there are definite economical duties and limitations that have to be recognized. There are also certain ethical and moral duties and limitations; and while we are continually

encouraging the development of those phases of the industry, and finding ways for the supply of the proper demand in that regard, we always predicate this interest and activity on the assumption that in such plans as are developed it will always be recognized that the theater owner has certain real rights in the premises, which rights would naturally be recognized first of all by those who are interested in seeing religious films.

The theater owner pays a national and State tax on his theater, a license fee, an extra insurance premium, and other special levies, in order to run his business and provide for the essential amusement of the people; and it would be obviously unfair to him to create competition to draw the same audience, with or without charge, to see the same attraction into places which have no such burdens. Such a thing would be neither morally nor economically sound.

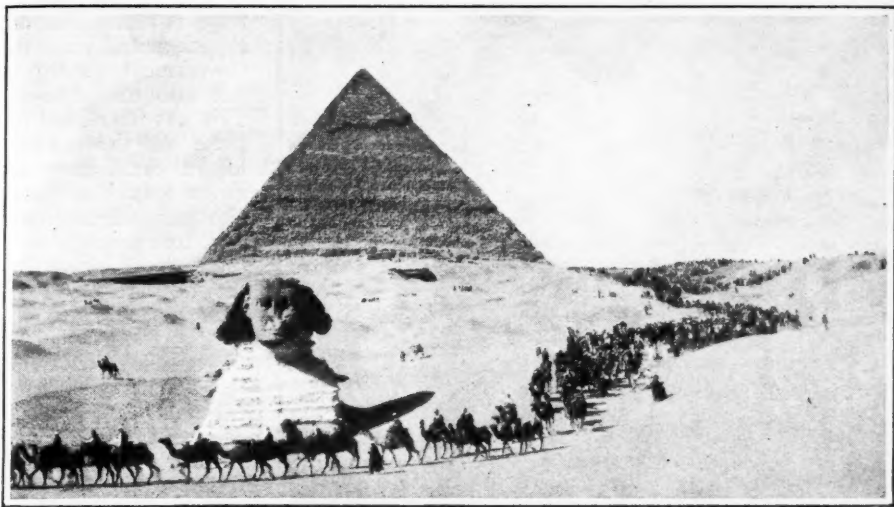
While this is true, it is just as certain that there is an actual and potential need for pictures in churches, of the types which are thoroughly proper from every standpoint and which will do great good; and that need must be met. All the demand there is now, and the demand of to-morrow, which in my opinion is inestimable, can and will be taken care of in a way that will not be an injustice to the theater owner in any way whatever.

Obviously, just as more pictures are used wherever they are used, so more pictures will have to be made; and the producers

want to see every possible market developed. But our Association must, of course, take the view, and we do take the view, that in the development of the whole situation we must only proceed in ways which are absolutely fair to everyone interested. Let us not forget that there are three great groups that have definite rights in the employment and enjoyment of this great new instrument of entertainment and education: There are all those connected in any way with the production and distribution of motion pictures, and there are



STUDYING NATURE AT CLOSE RANGE—SHOWING HOW THE MOVING PICTURE CAN BE OF DIRECT EDUCATIONAL VALUE



ADMISSION TO A MOTION-PICTURE SHOW IS OFTEN TRANSPORTATION TO THE MOST REMOTE PORTIONS OF THE WORLD

(Not being able to build a Sphinx and a Pyramid in America, it became necessary for this outfit to go to Egypt for the proper setting)

those who exhibit them; but first, and with rights far beyond those of the other groups, there is the public, whose servant the motion-picture industry is.

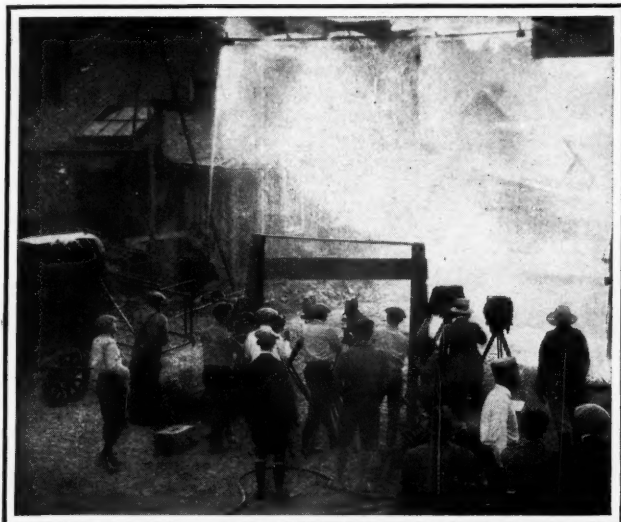
Just as the people have full right to demand that motion pictures, the principal amusement of the great majority and the sole amusement of millions and millions, shall be clean and of the highest standards of art and entertainment, so they have a right to expect that every possible usefulness of motion pictures shall be developed without delay. The broad view requires, of course, that in developing the non-theatrical field every fundamental right should be considered, and that the action of all of us be measured by what is for the good of all. Personally, I am certain that this can all be worked out, and that not only great good will come but that it will be of most practical benefit to the industry.

VII. EDUCATIONAL VALUE, AND INTERNATIONAL AMITY

At the annual convention of the National Education Association in Boston, last summer, I suggested on behalf of our Association to some 3000 teachers who were there—representing a membership in their organization alone of more than 115,000—that we jointly study the demand for pedagogic pictures and that we turn over to them all

of our facilities to aid in the experimentation. I suggested that their association might appoint a committee made up of the foremost educators, which would meet with the great producers and together study the whole problem of the use of the motion picture as a direct pedagogic instrument and together find the means of making classroom pictures which would be scientifically, psychologically, and pedagogically sound.

This offer was accepted by that convention and a committee has been appointed, consisting (in addition to Dr. William B. Owen, president of the National Education Association) of the following persons: Dr. Charles H. Judd, director of the School of Education at the University of Chicago, chairman; Col. Leonard P. Ayres, vice president of the Cleveland Trust Company; Elizabeth Breckinridge, principal of the Louisville, Ky., Normal School; Ernest L. Crandall, director of lectures in the New York City school system; Susan M. Dorsay, Superintendent of Schools at Los Angeles, California; Elizabeth Hall, Assistant Superintendent of Schools at Minneapolis; and Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts. Affiliated with this committee will be Dr. John J. Tigert, United States Commissioner of Education, and Dr. J. D. Creeden, President of Georgetown University. Preliminary meetings have



REPRODUCING ONE OF THOSE TERRIFYING STORM SCENES

(Note the fire hose and overhead water pipes, which supply the rain; and the airplane engine at the left, the propeller of which furnishes the gale)

already been held, surveys are under way, and an organization is being perfected.

It cannot again be said—as I am advised it was once suggested—that the producers do not want to furnish educational pictures. The producers want to serve America. They know that there is no more important and lasting service they can perform than to aid in educating the youth of the country by this means, and they propose to make a very definite contribution to the pedagogic forces of the world. There are 15,000 theaters in this country; but there is a new, untouched field of 260,000 schools.

Another effort which we are making is the development of the full usefulness of the motion picture as an instrument of international amity. Just as there is developed between individuals a better relationship based on a better understanding, so it is between nations. I have been advised that when France was endeavoring to mobilize her full man power there were thirteen

tribes in Morocco, under French control, which the Government wanted to put into one regiment. This was impossible because the tribes had fought each other for generations. The French Government immediately took motion pictures of these troops separately, showing them playing the same games, living the same sort of lives, and in an incredibly short time they had the thirteen tribes in one regiment fighting for France and for us—one of the best regiments in France—and they are back home now living in peace under one flag.

Members of our Association have taken definite steps to make certain that every film which goes abroad shall correctly portray the purposes, the ideals, the accomplishments, the opportunities, and the life of America. We are going to sell America to the world with motion pictures. I do not have to suggest to you the value of this in improving our international relationships.



A SCENE FROM "QUINCY ADAMS SAWYER"

(Showing how the old gentleman, in his quaint costume and rig, was really photographed on a modern motor truck)

VIII. THE NEW SPIRIT OF COÖPERATION

There has been selected a Committee on Public Relations, which consists of the heads of eighty nationally organized associations for better things. Following a meeting last summer with the heads of these associations, an executive committee of twenty has been formed, with its own executive secretary who is in our office as the point of contact. This executive committee of twenty, meeting frequently, is pre-viewing pictures and making suggestions to our producers, bringing to the industry an inestimable value of brain and heart that could not be hired at any price, advising the producer about the needs, as well as the wants, of the 12,000,000 members of the great organizations which they represent. The committee constructively suggests betterments in the pictures and gives sympathetic encouragement and advice to the producers that reach right back to the studio, with an immeasurable influence on the productions as they shall come out. As the good pictures are produced these representatives send word to their organizations that will bring the support to which such better pictures are entitled. Our organization of producers and distributors has had many conferences, also, with exhibitors, in order to bring about closer coöperation and confidence, and it has had splendid help from them, without which our whole effort would fail. Just as other phases of the industry, in the rapidity of its development, have not been worked out in the fullest way, so has it been necessary to give attention to a better relationship with the exhibitor, who is the buyer of the product which the manufacturer (the producer) makes. This is a practical improvement, and definitely necessary to bring the maximum functioning of the industry's whole effort, because without the coöperation of all branches the fullest measure of success is not possible.

In addition to these efforts for new usefulness the public will not be unmindful, I am sure, of such things as have already been accomplished in connection with better amusement pictures. At the end of the eight months period since the organization of the Association, it has been of some interest to the members themselves to review what has been attempted, and to invite the attention of the public to the accounting.



MR. HAYS AND ONE OF THE MOST YOUTHFUL SCREEN STARS

It was an earnest action, indeed, last May when the producers sent orders to the studios as to the pictures to be made in the future, directing that above all else the purposes of the Association should be foremost. It means much for the general good when these men who had the vision, the energy, the nerve, if you will, to have made this industry what it is in twenty years, now make it their chief business to establish and maintain the highest moral and artistic standards.

IX. WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Continuing this new drive for the best possible pictures, measuring up toward what the standard should be—a standard which many pictures already had achieved—earnestly asking the public's coöperation, and desiring, from every possible standpoint, selfish and unselfish, to move in the right direction, they have brought out, and are bringing out, a series of pictures which we are hoping will attract the public's attention, as evidence both of good faith and ability to accomplish, and as an augury for still better things to which every effort shall be directed. The better pictures are here. The maintaining of the highest stand-

ard is quite as essential as its attainment, and there can be and will be no slipping backward, nor loss of any improvement that may be accomplished. These pictures are being received with appreciation, and the public will not be unmindful either of the impossibility of pleasing every one with every picture or of the necessity for different types of pictures to meet various tastes and interests.

As is well known, the great center of the industry is in Los Angeles County, California, possibly 75 per cent. of the pictures being made there. It is an interesting fact that the third largest industry in Los Angeles County is food production, with an expenditure last year of \$92,000,000 and with a weekly payroll of \$260,000; the second largest industry in the county is petroleum, spending last year \$104,000,000, with a weekly payroll of \$353,000 (and probably one-fourth of the oil produced in the country last year was produced in Los Angeles County). But the largest industry in Los Angeles County is the motion-picture business, spending last year \$140,000,000 and having a weekly payroll of over \$500,000. It is the earnest purpose of the Association that everything possible shall be done toward maintaining an industrial community which will be a model not only as regards the activities of the industry itself, but also in its relations with the splendid community of which it is a part. Definite steps are being taken by the Association in Los Angeles toward that end.

I have come to visualize this new thing as my attachment to it becomes deeper. I have come to know it as an unbelievably great, three-fold instrument for good. It can do three great things, and it will do these three things as no other instrument that I know of can do them.

In the first place, it can and will fill a necessity—the necessity for entertainment.

In the second place, it can and will instruct—which is, indeed, a most precious power.

In the third place, and I am sure that my enthusiasm does not warp my judgment, it will do more than any other existing agency to unite the peoples of the world—to bring understanding between men and women, and between nation and nation.

I know there will everywhere be abundant sympathy with all of these things; and those within the industry, on whom the first duty lies, do not minimize their responsibility nor would they shirk it. With the sympathetic and active coöperation of the public, we can accomplish the purposes of this Association. I believe that any job in this life which ought to be done can be done.

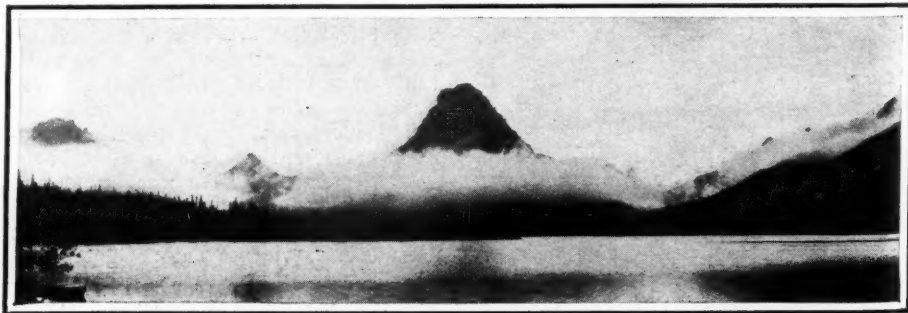
The motion-picture industry accepts the challenge in the demand of the American people for a higher quality of art and interest in their entertainment.

The industry accepts the challenge in the demand of the American youth that its pictures shall give the right kind of entertainment and instruction.

We accept the challenge in the righteous demand of the American mother that the entertainment and amusement of that youth shall be worthy of its value as a most potent factor in the country's future.

We accept the challenge in the proper demand of educators and religious leaders that the full instructional and religious value of the motion picture shall be developed and used.

We accept our full responsibility. It is a service, and "service is the supreme commitment of life." It is a service which needs the best from us all, and I have great faith in its fulfillment.



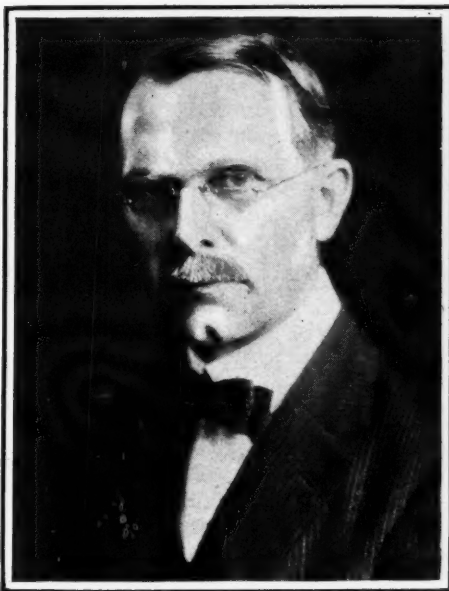
MOTION PICTURES HAVE BROUGHT TO THE POOR MAN OR WOMAN ALL THE WORLD'S SCENIC SPLENDORS

MR. WILSON'S RECORDS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

THE story of the peace conference from the standpoint of Woodrow Wilson has now been written with great care and with every possible source of information.¹ The journalist and author who was closest to President Wilson during the eventful months following the armistice was Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, head of the American Press Bureau. Mr. Wilson could hardly have chosen any man more worthy of confidence or better qualified by experience, ability, high character, and deep conviction to make use of his personal collection of materials and documents and to tell what happened at Paris.

Ray Stannard Baker, who was born at Lansing, Michigan, about fifty-three years ago, studied in the local Agricultural College and afterwards in the State University at Ann Arbor, and for several years was a rising young newspaper man in Chicago. Then he became a special writer for *McClure's Magazine*, and was one of the group of editors associated with John S. Phillips in the founding of the *American Magazine*, where he remained until 1915. He had written books for boys and young people, and had turned strongly to the country life for which his early training had fitted him, writing under the name of David Grayson a famous book called "Adventures in Contentment," which was followed by several other books published under the same *nom-de-plume*. He was attached to the State Department after our declaration of war, and performed certain duties in Europe. All his previous experience had fitted him, therefore, for his later services at the Peace Conference. In 1920 he published a book on the "Industrial Unrest" following the war, and another entitled "What Wilson Did at Paris."

Mr. Baker accompanied the President on his journeys to and from Europe, and was his publicity representative throughout the long months of struggle and negotiation that resulted in the signing of the Treaty of



MR. RAY STANNARD BAKER

(Author of the three-volume work entitled "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement")

Versailles in the historic Hall of Mirrors on June 28, 1919. The present work does not deal with the submission of the treaty to the United States Senate and the subsequent deadlock between the White House and Congress. It ends with the signature of the treaty by the Germans at Versailles. In two volumes containing an aggregate of about 1000 pages, Mr. Baker gives us what is by far the most important and authoritative recital that has yet been published of the peacemaking proceedings in which the President was involved as head of our delegation. A third volume contains sixty-nine documents, only a few of which have been given to the public by anyone else.

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the peace conference, President Wilson's friends and supporters began to urge upon him the desirability of giving to the American people and to the world his own version

¹"Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement." By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page & Co. 3 Volumes, 1500 pp. Ill.

of the things that had happened at Paris. He had been severely criticized and had not sought to vindicate himself. It is true that he had returned in a mood to make every effort for the acceptance of the treaty. He was most of all concerned about the League of Nations, which would—in his conception—grow into a society of self-governing peoples with the result of substituting order, law, and justice for militarism. It had never been his custom to exploit himself, nor to make what he personally had done or had not done a topic of discussion. It was rather his habit to write and speak in the realm of ideas.

Wilson believed that the treaty, especially that part of it which provided for the League of Nations as a continuing international structure, offered the best compromise plan that could be made, in view of the many discordant interests that were asserting themselves at Paris. He did not for a moment think of the treaty as attaining the final stage in the solution of world problems, but rather as a beginning, from which, through the developing work of the League of Nations, and in other ways, the civilized world might move forward.

He believed that a failure on the part of the United States to ratify what the American delegation had taken a leading part in formulating at Paris would lead to dire confusion; and he was therefore unwilling to consider amendments, or reservations, or provisos of any kind. His labors during the war period, and particularly during the half year following the armistice, had been too great for his strength. He had suffered while abroad from a serious attack of influenza. When—after his return, and after the Senate showed unwillingness to ratify without amendments—President Wilson further overtaxed his already depleted strength by a speaking tour, he was stricken with the prostrating illness from which he is only now slowly recovering.

It would be hard to believe that Mr. Lloyd George, or Premier Clemenceau, or Mr. Orlando, these being the other three members of the so-called "Big Four" at Paris, could have taken pains from day to day to collect and preserve every scrap of written information bearing upon the proceedings. But Mr. Wilson, in contrast, as a trained historical scholar and writer of books, expecting also that at the end of his presidential period he would be free to write concerning the world events in which he

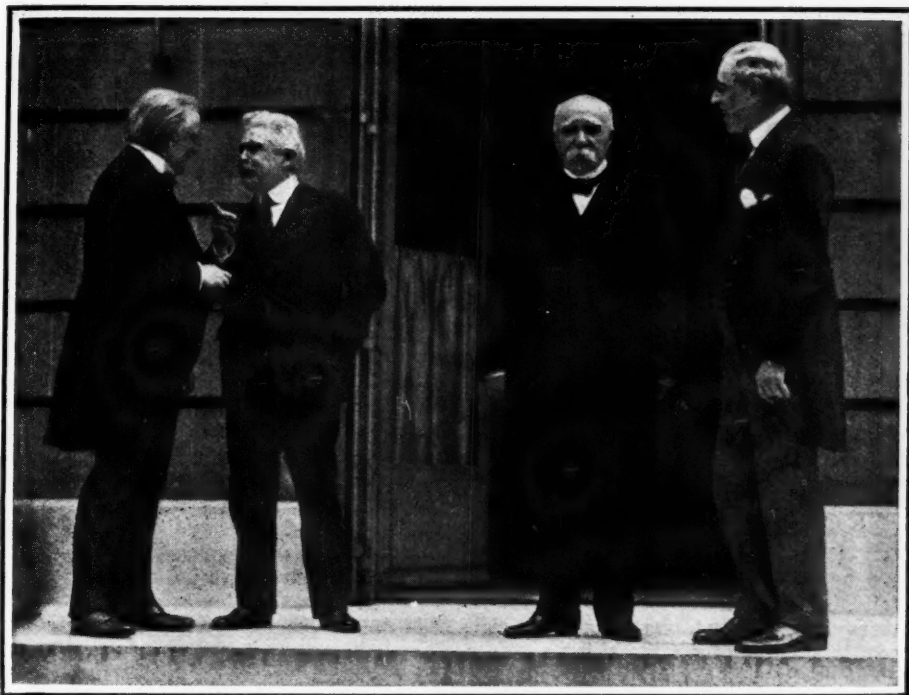
had taken a part, was quite certain to see that minutes and records were carefully preserved for his own purposes, and that no valuable document or memorandum should be missing from his collection.

No day's work ended for Woodrow Wilson at Paris until he had personally fastened in a steel box every letter, paper, memorandum of conversations, or material of any kind which might be of use for reference at a later time. From the smaller steel receptacle the accumulating papers were transferred to larger trunks and boxes, and these were all brought back by Mr. Wilson when, after the Germans had signed the treaty in June, he returned on the *George Washington*.

Two years or more ago—for it is now fully three and a half years since the treaty was signed—it became wholly probable that these unopened boxes of documentary material would have to be dealt with by the hand of some other historian, for Mr. Wilson's physical strength was returning very tardily. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, who was now living at Amherst, Massachusetts, was free to undertake the work. And since Mr. Baker was already exceptionally familiar with all that had happened at Paris, and had enjoyed Mr. Wilson's undiminishing confidence in the fullest measure, it was plain that the man and the task were fitted for each other. Mr. Baker is too responsible an author to indulge in special pleading when an opportunity of such profound significance, and of such historical dignity, confronts him. He has had unrestricted access to the Wilson materials, and has endeavored to use them with impartial justice. Mr. Wilson has also been able to render some personal assistance, thus enhancing the authoritative character of Mr. Baker's work.

The results, therefore, will be found available at once for the defenders and for the critics of President Wilson's mission abroad. But it must not be supposed that these volumes are merely an attempt to build a narrative around the activities and the points of view of a single man. It would be impossible to write of "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement" without a careful statement of the problems themselves that had to be dealt with, and also an explanation of the opinions and contentions of all of the other principal figures in the peace conference.

Thus, Part I of the first volume deals with the old diplomacy, the European secret



THE "BIG FOUR" AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

(The British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, stands at the left of the group, talking with the Italian Premier, Signor Orlando. M. Clemenceau, then Premier of France, who has recently been presenting the French viewpoint to American audiences, stands next to President Wilson)

treaties, and the plans for the slicing up of Turkey. Part II tells the origin of President Wilson's fourteen points, recounts the American struggle for publicity at Paris, and sets in contrast the old and the new methods of negotiation. Part III tells the story of the origin of the League of Nations, and the history within the conference of the framing and adoption of the League. Part IV recounts the struggle for limitation of armaments, and related topics. Mr. Baker does not treat these subjects by mere citation of documents. He is a writer of skill, and he knows how to make his narrative spirited and dramatic while also accurate; and he has in mind the ordinary intelligent reader as well as the international statesman.

The second volume deals with the controversies that resulted in protracting the negotiations, and with the crises of one kind or another that had to be tidied over. Those who have followed M. Clemenceau's recent speeches in the United States will read with particular interest the chapter entitled "Struggle Between Wilson and Clemenceau."

In the midst of the most difficult and serious of the controversies, the President came down with a violent attack of influenza and high fever. Mr. Baker is not reticent in his description of the President's personal situation during those trying days. Wilson was prostrate in his bedroom, and the Big Four (Colonel House personating Mr. Wilson) were sitting day after day in an adjoining room.

At the height of the critical period the President ordered the *George Washington* to sail, and intimated that he would abandon the conference and go home. This ultimatum was the beginning, it seems, of more conciliatory attitudes; and the conference began to accept working compromises. There are chapters on the Italian crisis and on Wilson's famous appeal to the Italian people. Then come chapters on the partition of Turkey, on Syria and Palestine, and Zionism, followed by chapters on the Japanese demands and the problem of Shantung. The economic policies of Great Britain at Paris, and the economic demands of Conti-

mental Europe are presented; and then follows a chapter on the American attitude toward reparations, debts, and economic matters in general. The reparation settlements are extensively discussed, and concluding chapters deal with other less important matters of international adjustment.

The third volume contains texts of numerous documents. Some of these are minutes of confidential proceedings. There are important papers which show the evolution of Wilson's Fourteen Points. A hundred and thirty pages are devoted to various drafts and proposals relating to the forming of a League of Nations. There are letters and papers relating to armaments, to the French frontier problem, to the Italian crisis over Fiume and the Adriatic; and there are twenty documents relating to economic settlements which occupy 130 pages of the volume. One looks in vain here for the Crane-King report on the Near East, and there is little or nothing on mandates, and apparently nothing on Russia. But Mr. Baker makes an admirable chapter in his second volume on the Crane-King report, with so many quotations that the ordinary reader does not need the whole document. Furthermore, that suppressed report has just now been given to the press by President Wilson; and, like many other books and reports relating to war settlements, it will be easily obtained by anyone who needs it in its entirety. There was no attempt by Mr. Baker to compress into his concluding volume of documents any of the more

extensive and obvious sources of information that could be found elsewhere by the student.

At the end of the second volume will be found an index that is unusually thorough. It would have been helpful if the documentary volume had been included in the index. Mr. Lloyd George is indexed in about four and a half fine-print columns while M. Clemenceau occupies more than two columns. Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, has twelve columns. Colonel House has less than one, and the references to Mr. Lansing are of similar extent.

We shall not attempt to draw conclusions from the reading of Mr. Baker's honest, able, and well-informed volumes. The American people knew very little of what was going on within the diplomatic circles of Europe when we undertook to help the nations end their war, and to help them establish a just and lasting peace. And if the American people knew little, there is no evidence in this book which would convince us that our governmental authorities at Washington were much better informed than the people who had elected them to office. Never were motives loftier than those that impelled President Wilson and the American people in the war period, and that inspired them in the efforts to secure valuable settlements, and to arrange for lasting peace. But Europe was not ready for broad and permanent settlements. It was too late, at the end of the war, to apply those universal remedies that we had neglected to mention as a prerequisite condition of our military support. A. S.

THE REMINISCENCES OF OSCAR S. STRAUS

ONE of the most fascinating of the new volumes of personal record and reminiscence that have been making their appearance of late with unwonted frequency is the autobiographical narrative of Oscar S. Straus, entitled, "Under Four Administrations."¹ Mr. Straus belongs to a family that has been remarkably successful in its adventure of removal to the United States from a Rhenish district of Bavaria. His grandfathers and greatgrandfathers were Jews of property and influence, and his father was a man of high qualities who took part in the revolutionary movement for

freedom in 1848. The failure of that movement led him, with numerous other men of quality, to migrate to the United States. With a family of small children, Oscar being the youngest, Mr. Straus settled in Georgia. After the Civil War, the family removed to New York, where the father, assisted by the sons, created a wholesale importing business. Oscar's two older brothers, Isidor and Nathan, became merchants of wealth, and won deserved honors as philanthropists and public-spirited citizens of the metropolis.

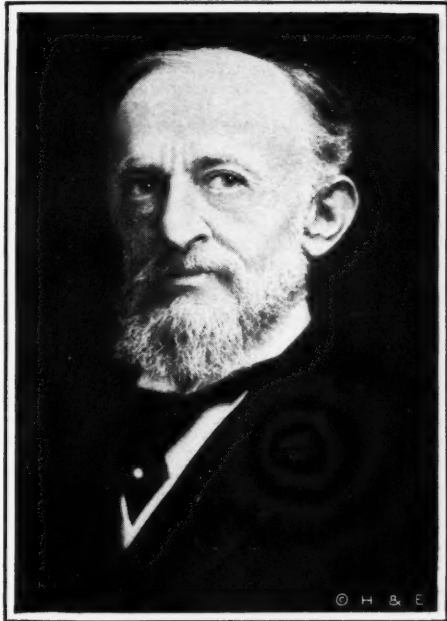
Oscar himself was sent to Columbia College, where he graduated fifty years ago in a class that included a number of men who

¹Under Four Administrations. By Oscar S. Straus. Houghton Mifflin. 456 pp.

afterwards attained eminence. As a student, Oscar was scholarly and talented, with aptitudes which made it difficult for him to decide upon a definite career. Literature, law, business, public life, all had their attractions for him. It is a remarkable fact that in a long career, which is by no means ended yet, Mr. Straus has been successful in all four of these directions. He has written valuable books in the field of history and biography; he was soon prosperous in business in association with members of his family; he made his place at the Bar as a practising lawyer; and while still young he was able to give up active business and devote himself to public service.

In March, 1887, President Cleveland appointed Oscar Straus Minister to Turkey. From the very first he was conspicuously successful in that position. Returning later, he was occupied with business affairs, but gave the greater part of his time to usefulness in public ways. During the early part of President McKinley's Administration, Turkish affairs had become difficult, and in May, 1898, Mr. Straus was again drafted for the post of United States Minister at Constantinople. No one from any country has ever known better than Mr. Straus how to deal with the difficult problems of race and creed that have so long presented themselves at the meeting point between Europe and Asia.

This volume tells the story of those Turkish experiences in a manner that is highly entertaining, while it also contributes to our knowledge of diplomatic history. Mr. Straus became, after the death of McKinley, one of the staunchest aids and supporters of Theodore Roosevelt. By President Roosevelt he was made a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, receiving reappointments from Roosevelt and also from Wilson. His reminiscences of the earlier Roosevelt period are of exceptional value, and they become authoritative for the later period because in December, 1906, he was made a member of the Cabinet as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, remaining until March 4, 1909. For the duties that arose under the various bureaus of that new Department, he had exceptional qualifications. This volume tells of that work.



HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS

Mr. Straus was not retained in the Taft Cabinet, but he was offered diplomatic posts by President Taft, and at once became Ambassador to Turkey, serving for nearly two years—his third diplomatic period at Constantinople. When the Republicans split at Chicago in 1912, Mr. Straus supported Roosevelt and joined the Progressive movement. He was made the Progressive candidate for the governorship of New York. He did not hold an official position during the Great War, but was very active as a citizen and was prominent at Paris in endeavors to secure the acceptance of the views of the American League to Enforce Peace. His son, Roger, served as a Captain in the American army.

Mr. Straus has long been recognized as an authority not only in international relations but also in the struggle for industrial peace; and he has served at different times on arbitration boards to settle disputes between capital and labor. The only fault one can find with his present narration is its brevity. Out of the wealth of his experiences he might easily have given us two volumes instead of one.

A. S.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Labor in the New British Parliament

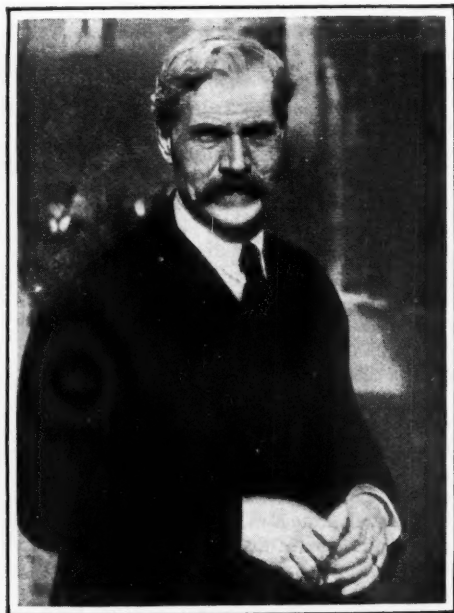
THE General Election in Great Britain on November 15 gave the Conservative Government of Mr. Bonar Law a majority of about eighty seats in the House of Commons. The Labor Party succeeded in winning 141 seats in a total of 615. The fact that the Labor Party through this unprecedented accession of Parliamentary strength becomes "His Majesty's Opposition" is among the most significant results of the election, and has received much comment in the British press.

In the *Contemporary Review* (London) for December the veteran English journalist, J. A. Spender, sums up the elections from the Liberal viewpoint. As he analyzes the situation, it was the Labor Party which by deliberate choice gave the Conservatives their opportunity. Labor, he says, "re-

fused all accommodation with Liberals." Comparatively little accommodation, he thinks, would have saved from 50 to 60 seats and insured a Liberal and Labor Government for the next four years. Labor, however, prefers a Conservative Government to anything short of an undiluted Labor Government.

While sympathizing with a great deal of the Labor program, Mr. Spender still finds it "reactionary and anti-social." With a concentration of capital on one side and a concentration of labor on the other, the British people will become, so far as their politics are concerned, a community "living by bread alone." The struggle to get or to keep will be unredeemed by any of that sense of common obligation which it has been the aim of Liberalism to foster. Here Mr. Spender finds a reason for making a vigorous effort to keep Liberalism alive in Great Britain. "If its voice is weak in Parliament, it must be strong on the platform and in the press." As Labor grows stronger, and gets into its program more principles which frighten and antagonize the middle classes, the voters are likely to be taken by the reaction into the Conservative rather than the Liberal camp. Thus, Liberalism in Germany was ground between the upper and nether millstones of Junkerism and Socialism.

The danger of the next few years is that both the Conservatives and Labor will presume on their success and combine to crush out the intermediate party, the former by refusing to reform the electoral machine and giving the rein to their die-hards, the latter by rejecting all accommodation and coöperation. The temptation of Labor to work for what they think will be a landslide next time and of Conservatives to use the occasion to reconstruct the ancient barriers will be very great, and, if they yield to it, the result may be for both a dangerous and barren strife within a short term of years. The new Parliament should be treated by all parties as the first stage in the necessary reconstruction of politics after war and coalition, and a serious effort made to end the confusion which is the opportunity of political adventurers and strategists, and enables them to snatch power by sudden surprise combinations. The coupon and the anti-coupon elections



HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

(Head of the Labor Party and official leader of "His Majesty's Opposition" to the Bonar Law government)

should be the last of the series of which they are both brilliant examples, for another of the same kind would destroy the authority of Parliament.

There is no easy solution of any of the questions that lie ahead, and it may be that we are embarked on economic struggles which will supersede all analogies drawn from the political struggles of the last century. I would only suggest to Conservatives that they should realize what the great Labor vote means, and what must follow, if the process of extinguishing the Liberal Party goes farther. If they will do this, no one will grudge or greatly envy them a further period of office. There is at least one great gain from this election. It has extinguished the Coalition and put an end to the muddled and dangerous autocracy that has grown up under it. It has brought back into Parliament a great many able men and effective debaters who will at least make a formidable opposition and perhaps evolve a new and practical alignment of forces out of their coöperation. At least Parliament will be alive and begin to count again in the affairs of the country. And not improbably some of the personal questions which now loom large will prove a good deal less important than is supposed. The election returns give Mr. Lloyd George a nominal party of 55, and a few of these no doubt are free men. But

the majority are pledged to give a general support to the Government, and it is not likely that they will imperil their seats by embarking lightly on new adventures. I do not underrate Mr. Lloyd George's Parliamentary abilities, but it is a reasonable hope that all parties will at length be on their guard against "wizardry," and there is at least this consolation in the Conservative majority that it saves the Parliament from being at the mercy of any balancing faction.

"Tranquillity" is the rashest and most extravagant of all election promises, as Mr. Harding has just discovered in America, and as Mr. Bonar Law may discover before he has lived much longer. To be tranquil with a million unemployed and five million Labor voters bringing a great new workers' party into Parliament would be as great folly as to fly in panic from the "red peril." The Labor tide may easily increase in volume in the next three years, and we had better understand what it means. It means undoubtedly that vast numbers of men and women are in active revolt against the falling wages, precarious employment and evil housing conditions that are now their lot. It means that they are determined that the history of the last century shall not repeat itself and the burden of paying for a great war be shifted on to the shoulders of the poor.

Protecting American Export Trade

ONE feature of the new tariff law to which comparatively little attention has been paid is Section 317, discussed in some detail by Mr. William S. Culbertson, of the United States Tariff Commission, in the *Yale Review* for January.

Mr. Culbertson points out that prior to 1914 we did not feel compelled as a nation to concern ourselves greatly with the protection of our overseas interests. Since that date, however, our export trade has developed rapidly and we have found ourselves more and more dependent for raw materials upon foreign sources, particularly colonial sources. At the same time the export of American capital and its investment in the development of backward countries have increased.

Congress adopted in Section 317 a method of commercial negotiation, suggested by the maximum and minimum of the Payne-Aldrich Act, which, as was said by the conferees who finally shaped the act, "had for its purpose the obtaining of equality of treatment for American overseas commerce." This section empowers the President, when he deems it to the public interest, to impose additional duties or even prohibition upon the whole or a part of the commerce of any foreign country that places the commerce of the United States at a disadvantage compared with the com-

merce of any other foreign country. The phraseology of the law, says Mr. Culbertson, is designed to secure real and not merely nominal equality of treatment. It is designed to secure the removal not only of open discriminations but of discriminations concealed in customs and sanitary regulations and in classifications. It is Mr. Culbertson's opinion that under this law any country which continues to discriminate against American trade may find its trade suffering from exactly those penalties which will do it the highest amount of harm with the least possible injury to American importing interests.

Mr. Culbertson does not believe that it was the intention of Congress to make possible an indiscriminate use of penalty duties against colonial preferences. He thinks that the removal of systems of preference deeply imbedded in the economic and political policies of countries may call for serious negotiations rather than for retaliatory steps, possibly resulting in trade wars. The real meaning of Section 317 seems to be that foreign nations can no longer ignore the President's views if he raises with them issues of international commercial policy.

At a time when the world is drifting more and more towards commercial conflict and when there is evident in many countries a desire to use commercial devices for the pur-

pose of furthering narrow national interests, it would seem that a wider application of the principle of the "Open Door," which is already a recognized part of America's international policy, will have wholesome results. As Mr. Culbertson states the case:

Much can be done by the negotiation of commercial treaties, but the most fundamental and serious of the commercial issues between nations to-day must be worked out in an international conference. Merely agreeing to grant equal access to markets and to sources of raw materials is not sufficient. Nations must cooperate to make their agreements effective. Too often the "open door" has been nominally accepted only to be evaded in practice. After all, there are some things which nations must do together. Nationalism, useful and essential in some fields, has its limitations. "In many ways," the President said on October 11, 1922, in his letter to Mr. Mondell, "real protection comes from coop-

eration with other nations. The best intelligence of the day recognizes the need to encourage intimacy and understanding in the social, economic, and political family of nations."

We need prophets who can see clearly the dangers of economic rivalry between nations, and who will point the way of escape. It is a false nationalism which emphasizes self-interest to the point of destruction. Men and women will not love their nation less if they come to understand its place in the family of nations and to realize that the judicial settlement of disputes is the only road to security and progress. National control reaches a point sooner or later where it breaks down. Beyond this point national security depends on international security. Economic issues, such as the struggle for markets and raw materials, if not solved by genuine international cooperation, will destroy the nations. By adopting cooperation as a means of solving such world problems, a nation gives up nothing that is worth keeping, and it takes the only course which in the long run will preserve the finest features of nationality.

The New Columbus Play at Paris

THE dramatic critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) for November 15th devotes his entire space of five pages to hail with enthusiasm a new Columbus play, "Le Chevalier de Colomb," by M. François Porché, just performed at the Comédie Française. The instinctive correlation of a noble art-work with the national life of his much-tried people is distinctly Gallic.

It is long since the theater has offered us such a treat. Exactly twenty-five years, if one's mind turns to "Cyrano de Bergerac," casting into the midst of the Northern mists and foreign tongues that were invading us its note of the pure French tradition. It is all but fifty years, if we go back as far as that evening when "The Daughter of Roland" recalled our land, then sorely tried, to the consciousness of its own historic destiny. It is in these pieces that "Le Chevalier de Colomb" finds its kin. Like them, it is a hymn to the Ideal; like them, it utters a resonant rallying cry. It is one of those works that a happy fortune—it cannot be called a mere stroke of chance—creates at the instant when they are awaited. Since the Torment came, that swept away so many empty phrases, we have been waiting for a type of drama over which has passed the purifying gale of the great Trial. I felt the first breath of it as I listened to this piece, which is not a war-play, but over it there lies always the atmosphere of the war.

Surely it was a great idealist who, with no ambition save to realize the idea which his genius had conceived, with the poor resources with which the science of his day equipped its navigators, set forth in quest of the new lands which conjecture had placed on the other side of the Ocean. A Christopher Columbus broke down the barriers of the Old World. He made the bounds of humanity as

wide as the immensity of nature. His figure, which hovers constantly over the first act of the play, gives it a beautiful impression of grandeur: the effect of adventure, of enlargement, of discovery, which is the soul and breath of this act!

Don Vincent de Garavillas was upon the *Maria Galante* when the three heroic caravels sailed out of Palos. Now he has returned to his home, is re-established in his family château; certainly he did not behold it again without emotion. But oh! It is always dismal to come back after too long an absence. Life has been reorganized without you. You disturb and are disturbed. You have become open to other modes of thought and feeling: you no longer recognize those you left behind you. You are a stranger. Don Vincent suffocates in his own house, which he finds completely given up to rustic life. The memories of the Great Adventure return to haunt him. When one has lived through certain hours, one never ceases to re-live them. Their splendor pales all that comes after. Their Past is more real than the Present of all else. So, in the "Chevalier de Colomb" one memory obsesses the minds of all, on the stage and in the audience: that of the glorious expedition. We are eager to listen to the tale of him who comes back from it. That tale, toward which everything converges and for which all wait, springs from the situation itself and the very nature of things. It is not dragged in, it is not a purple patch upon the texture of the story, it is the very center, the essential portion: and it is magnificent. . . .

"And I, I who stand here, lived through that instant,

When a new world from the abyss emerged:
I heard the cannon at the dawn of day
Greeting the shore as yet without a name:
I saw the sailors stretch their open hands
As if to accept the gift of those green isles
That glimmered under gloomy skies afar:
And in that triumph so unthinkable
I felt my heart melting with pride and joy."



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M. CLEMENCEAU ARRIVING AT WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(From left to right: Under Secretary of State, Robert Woods Bliss; M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador; M. Clemenceau; Madame Jusserand and Henry White, former American Ambassador to France)

A French Portrait of Clemenceau

IN that *douce France* which is the heritage and delight of all men of parts—her empire of the printed word—her writers have always especially excelled at painting portraits in prose; and concerning the most racily French visitor we have had for decades, it is pleasing to have such a portrait offered by a son of those old masters of character sketching, La Bruyère and Saint Simon.

Monsieur Etienne Fournol in the *Revue Bleue* (October 21) declares at the outset that M. Clemenceau himself would not be enchanted if he were not believed as potentially dangerous as his sobriquet, "the Tiger."

But if he has won a popularity which has withstood the Treaty of Versailles and its lamentable fame; if he retains the people's entire affection, it is unquestionably because of the courage with which he made war, blind and deaf to everything but the fighting at the front. Above all, what the Frenchman loves in Clemenceau is his affectionate care for the poilu. The General Staff was practically hanging on to his coat-tails to keep him from going

over the top. No other general or cabinet minister convinced the people of his deep attachment to the rank and file as Clemenceau did. Thus, the Tiger won by a great sincerity of feeling.

"A paradox," M. Fournol adds, "which heaven preserve me from discussing at the Sorbonne or with the psychologists!"

Fournol recalls the incident which separated Clemenceau from his socialistic leanings. It was in 1906 when he was Minister of the Interior and the miners struck at Pas-de-Calais. He put on his hat and without further ado went straight to the town hall of Lens to the striking committee.

Settle with your owners as you please. But do not break the peace. If you promise me to be quiet and orderly, I will send no troops.

They promised him and the next day they killed a cavalry lieutenant who was patrolling the suburbs. Whereupon Clemenceau retaliated and became a conservative.

Fournol believes this incident the key to the character of the great Frenchman who had been feared most by those who loved him.

The man is an admirable mind governed by an uncontrollable temper. An act, a word, a gesture suffice to turn him against a man, an idea. The reasons of his intellectual preferences, of his choice in doctrine or in life lie in his emotions and not in his intelligence. And the mind which is dominated is one of the readiest and most lucid of those that have been for three centuries the mirrors of the crystal French clarity. He is a true son of Voltaire, skillful in marshalling his thoughts, in confronting ideas seemingly acceptable alone but ludicrous when hurled together for the confusion of his adversary. Tacitus is among his intellectual gods. His style is that of a journalist, but he writes as he speaks, only because *he wants* something, although he is not averse to abstract reflections. His political speeches are strewn with observations on humanity, usually pessimistic.

The Tiger loves man, but despises him—a frequent attitude in politicians of generous character. He is first of all a tyrant—he sees men in two very distinct groups: those who think as he does and those who think otherwise, and between these groups he sees only a struggle for domination. Another paradox is that Clemenceau is as firm a believer in the parliamentary form of government as he is incessant in dispute with the Chamber when he is in power. He knows in theory that all opinions are free and to be respected, but in practice he does not respect any but his own. It has been said of a philosopher of Lyons that he was a soul who met a body and got out of the difficulty as best he could. Clemenceau is an insatiable will who has

met a vast intelligence: they get along as well as they can, but always in an unexpected fashion.

"This," concludes M. Fournol, "is one of the reasons of the Tiger's popularity."

He is sometimes domineering—but he is always interesting. He is respected and amusing at the same time. The public wait for his opinions and his acts with the sole certainty that they will be unexpected, and the only disappointment he could inflict on his contemporaries would be to do some day what anyone else would do in his place. His policy is sometimes disliked; but it may be said that his external appearance and his personality remain always almost intrinsically sympathetic to his countrymen. Age has robbed him of the physique which made him so hard and alert. Yet what marvelous vivacity and endurance he has still!

Go to his lair on the ground floor of the Rue Franklin, separated by glass doors from the little garden beyond. Do not be alarmed: if you are a friend of letters, if you have taste and respect for beauty, you will be welcomed like a brother. In the waiting-room and his study are fine reproductions of the Greek temples he knows as well as Reinach or Fougères and of the bas-reliefs of the Trajan column where lived the Roman Senators who were contemporaries of his beloved Tacitus. If Clemenceau finds your admiration equal to his, you will find him easy to approach, quick and brusque but appeased. At his round writing-table there he wrote an erudite volume on Buddha when he was silenced by the ingratitude of the Bloc. He was working there when one fine day, irritated by the mental listlessness of his old friends abroad and deciding to instruct them in some French and eternal verities, he put down his pen and left for America with his eighty-one years in his knapsack.

Faith and Skepticism in Russia

FORTUNATE are those people who in times of revolution and political and social disturbance have their souls armed and sustained by a lofty faith. But the men now in power in Russia have devoted especial attention to breaking down the confidence of the masses in the religious belief held by them for generations. To this end they have devastated shrines, torn down holy ikons and seized the treasures of the church, applying them to secular, not to say profane, purposes. The reactions of the peasants to these acts of vandalism have been varied and curious, according to the statements made by Maxim Gorky in an article in the *Revue Bleue* (Paris). At the very start Gorky contradicts the generally held opinion that the Russian peasant has a deeply religious nature. He remarks that his habitual mental attitude is one of skepticism and ignorance. Apropos of this he observes:

It seems to me that the revolution has definitely proved what a mistake it is to think of the Russian peasant as being deeply religious. Perhaps the fact that many of the village churches have been transformed into clubs and theaters doesn't mean much, in spite of the fact that this was sometimes done not from any lack of buildings but as an ostensible gesture of free thinkers. There were more vulgar cases of sacrilege which might be explained by the hostility of the people against the heads of the church, or the desire to offend some local priest, or, even, by the naïve curiosity of certain young people, who said to themselves, "I will find out what penalty I'll have to pay for profaning something that everybody venerates!"

But far more significant is the fact that such performances as the destruction of the ancient convent of Potcherski at Kiev and the monastery Troitse-Serguievski, which had an enormous historical and religious value (two convents deeply venerated by the entire country), provoked neither protest nor disorder among the peasants, . . . though these same peasants defended a few thousand bags of wheat with arms in their hands and at the risk of their lives!

Gorky tells us that when the Soviets of the provinces exposed to the public the

supposedly incorruptible relics of the saints, people received this act of sacrilege with apparent indifference and in silence. On talking to them, however, he found they held differing views as to the significance of the matter. Some of them declared their belief that the holy personages had known of the coming desecration of their tombs by infidels and had, therefore, deserted them. Others thought that the monks themselves, on learning the intention of the authorities to destroy the relics, had secretly removed the genuine incorruptible remains to a safe shelter, putting dolls in their places. Such views were held almost universally by the simple inhabitants of the villages.

Those who believed that the monks had been tricksters and were now shown up by the authorities went a step further in the skepticism thus produced, remarking cynically, "Now that the cheats in the convents have been discovered, it is time to think about the tricks of the doctors and the other fakirs who dupe and hurt the people."

Gorky questioned closely one man who spoke in this vein as to what he meant and he finally answered with some embarrassment: "Naturally, you won't believe me. But they say that it is possible now to poison the air and kill all living creatures that way—both men and animals. Everybody's bad nowadays—nobody has any pity any more. . . ." Another peasant, a member of a communist village Soviet, expressed a similar alarm with respect to modern inventions, saying:

As for us, we don't want any miracles. We just want to live in the light of the day without fear or terror. And instead of that, look at the miracles they fix up nowadays! It's been decided to put

electricity in the villages so there won't be so many fires. But I tell you, sir, that may make more trouble. Just suppose somebody turned a little button the wrong way and the whole village took fire. You see now the danger of the thing?—the people in the cities are rascals; those in the villages are stupid and it is easy to deceive them . . . the soldiers have already told us that during the war whole regiments were slaughtered by electricity!

When Gorky tried to calm the fears of this humble Caliban, he replied with the pregnant words: "There are those who know everything and those who don't know anything. That is the origin of all the evils. How can I believe when I know nothing?"

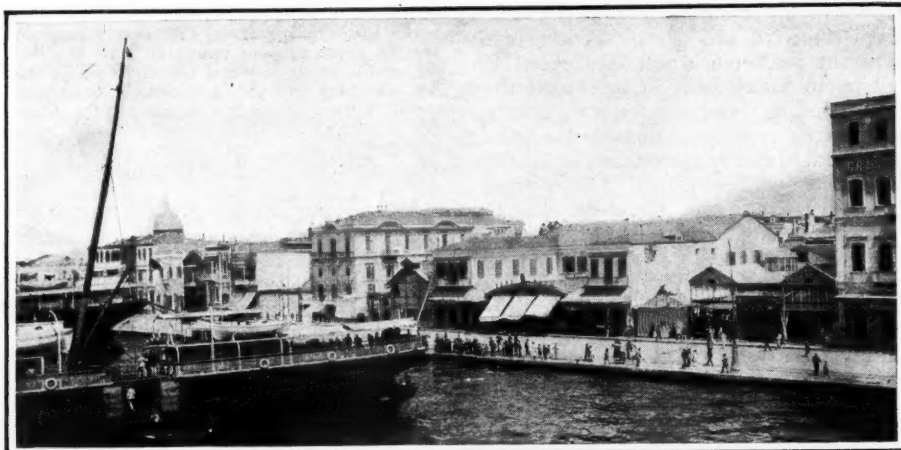
It is at any rate a hopeful sign that many of the peasants are, like the man just quoted, becoming conscious of their own ignorance and beginning to deplore it. A Siberian peasant who had organized a band of soldiers to fight Kolchak, uttered the following profoundly significant words:

Our people are not yet ripe for the things that are happening now. Now they hold with this one and now with that one. One's brain gets very confused. One time we fought a detachment of Kolchak's men . . . killing about fifty and losing seventy-one. While we were resting, my men came to me and asked, "Are you sure that the truth is not on Kolchak's side? What if we were fighting against our own interests?" (This was actually the case of a detachment of Siberian peasants who changed back and forth from the Bolsheviks to Kolchak no less than twenty times.) Yes, sometimes it seems to me that I'm a mere beast. I don't understand anything. Everything fights in my mind. A wounded prisoner of war, one of Kolchak's marines, tried to prove to me that Lenin was a tool of the Germans. He had documents which proved that Lenin had been corresponding with German generals about money. I had the marine shot to teach him not to mix up people's minds. And then a long time afterwards I had no peace in my soul. Truly no one knows what to believe any more. One man is against another and one comes to feel no confidence even in himself.

"Miss Smith of Smyrna"

IT is not unusual for an author of fiction to appear, in his own proper figure, among his characters. It is the close intermingling of credible invention with photographic and accurate detail—and no less the extremely recent occurrence of the real incidents, that make some of Sir Philip Gibbs' sketches seem a novel form of literature. His millionaire old maid, as pictured in the *Saturday Evening Post* for December 2, in her isolated old-fashioned English home close to Smyrna, almoner and protec-

tor of Turks and Christians alike, at need, is a familiar, rather than a realistic, figure. His Greek officer's family, the father all too confident of easy victory, the wife and mother in panic terror, the children serenely unconscious, and the boyish young Englishman, a naval officer, are hardly individualized at all. The knightly Turkish youth, risking his life to dash in through the Greek lines and prove his gratitude to Miss Smith by warning and convincing her of Kemal's resistless strength, is altogether melodra-



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A VIEW OF THE SMYRNA WATERFRONT

matic. He rides out of a chapter of the *Waverley* romances.

The most perilous seam twixt reality and invention is where Sir Philip himself accompanies the fearless old lady to Athens, in the vain attempt to get Constantine to withdraw his troops from Asia without a battle. Another is the statement that Kemal himself learned his English as a boy in "Miss Smith's" house. But these figures, most of whom, we foresee, will be swept away in the coming catastrophe, make the appeal to the reader's pity far more powerful than any general account of its horrors could; and we realize that they exist for that express purpose.

Miss Smith's beautiful adopted daughter is a Turk, sole survivor in infancy of a cold-blooded butchery of helpless Moslem families by a Christian mob. During the World War the English lady's intercession had saved the Smyrniote Christians in their turn from massacre. The only scene of bloodshed, however, at all vividly painted is at the unresisted landing of the troops from the Greek fleet at the end of the great war, when the soldiers began bayoneting in cold blood the Turkish porters who had just helped pull their boats up on the beach. The picturesque intervention of Miss Smith puts an end to this horrible scene, which was unrolling before the eyes of women and children, European as well as Levantine, in gala attire, crowding the shore, and the windows and balconies of all the hotels that face the harbor.

The story is especially worth reading for

the frankness with which Sir Philip's characters speak on matters where an Englishman, in his own person, even though a war-correspondent, might be necessarily more reticent. Thus Miss Smith indignantly describes the "precious alliance between France and Great Britain—up to their eyes in intrigue against each other from Syria to Constantinople!" And no protest is made. Again:

"Why does the British government support the Greek claim to Smyrna, which their army can never hold by their own power? Are British forces coming here to defend this unhappy population, when the Greek army is routed—or before? Tell me that!"

"I fear not," I said. "Our people are for peace, and sick of war."

"Then why adopt a policy that leads to war? . . . Every man in the *Mohammedan world* will die, rather than submit to Asia Minor being parceled out among the Greeks."

Probably the sudden withdrawal of Conservative support from Lloyd George, and his very weak showing at the recent election, was due in part to just such arguments as these, at home in England.

The phrase italicized is especially vital. It points to the seventy-five millions, in India alone, to whom the Turkish Sultan is—or was until the other day—also the Caliph, their religious head, the true Protector of the Faithful.

Enough has been said to illustrate how closely the sketch should be studied to catch every word let drop by an extraordinarily well-informed Englishman concerning this tragedy, the effects of which, throughout the Mahometan and the Christian world, can as yet only be vaguely surmised.

Mussolini from a French Angle

IN THE fortnightly chronicle of political events of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) for November 15, M. René Pinon grasps with remarkable force both the picturesque aspects and the revolutionary character of Mussolini's accession to power in Italy:

Few men, in all history, have had the intoxicating experience of conquering Rome and ascending to the capitol amid the acclamations of the maddened throng. Victor Emmanuel the Second entered the city only through the breach in the wall at Porta Pia. Signor Mussolini, chief of the Fascisti, has been supremely fortunate. At the will of Victor Emmanuel the Third, all gates opened to the sombre cohorts of the "Black Shirts" when they arrived under arms. It was amid flowers and hurrahs that they marched through the streets of the Eternal City toward the Quirinal to hail the King who two days before had made their idol his Prime Minister. It is said to have been the Fascisti's intention, also, to proceed thence to the Vatican and crave the blessing of Pius XI: an idea that would never have occurred to the "Red Shirts" of Garibaldi—but from this they were happily dissuaded. . . .

This was no such ministerial crisis as is familiar to constitutional governments. Two great events have upset European notions of liberal, constitutional, parliamentary régime: the creation and continuance of the Republic of the Soviets under the dictatorship of the Commissioners of the People, and the coup d'état in Italy. Dissimilar in origin and from, they are alike in this: their right is based on force. We are not prepared to call this progress!

The weak control of Facta was to prepare the way for the return of the clever juggler Giolitti. The premier meekly effaced himself by resignation on October 26. Giolitti conceded that the Fascisti must be reckoned with, "placated by a few cabinet places." But Mussolini was ready to stake all on a single throw. His legions were mobilized and marching on "all the roads that lead to Rome." The Republic was to be proclaimed under a triumvirate: with Mussolini, perhaps the Duke of Aosta and Gabriele D'Annunzio. But doubtless the great poet, who had been first in Fiume, would not be second in Rome; at any rate he declared his loyalty to the reigning house and withdrew from the movement.

Facta had a flash of revived energy. After a long interview

with the King he on the 28th proclaimed martial law throughout the kingdom. It was a state of civil war.

But the King had good councillors. The Fascisti were too strong. It was doubtful if the army would fire on the "Black Shirts." The dynasty might vanish in blood if it resisted where success was more than doubtful. General Diaz advised the King to yield to the popular will. The decree declaring a state of siege was never promulgated. So violence succeeds, rebellion triumphs, the King himself seizing the tiller and steering the ship of state into what he believes the main current of the national life. Indeed, he overstepped his constitutional powers to legalize revolution.

The little group of twenty-five Fascisti in the Chamber could not furnish a cabinet. Two chief heroes of the war, Diaz and Admiral Thaon di Ravel, accepted the War and Navy portfolios. The popularists received two places, with the promise of a free education bill. With one Nationalist, a Liberal and three Democrats they might seem to outnumber the four Fascisti—but that one of the latter is the Dictator, who assumes direct personal control of domestic and foreign policy alike.

The cabinet so made up appears and functions as a parliamentary government. The other parties accept the accomplished fact, internal peace is restored, the dictatorship is wound and bound in the thousandfold meshes of parliamentary tradition and the intrigues of the groups.

And yet, Signor Mussolini's government is a real dictatorship, for he, alone, can break down all resistance. The Chamber which will sanction his measures has in truth no power to traverse them. He who can, by a gesture, summon to Rome thou-



MUSSOLINI: "MAJESTY, AS YOU AGREE WITH ALL I DO, YOU MAY CONTINUE TO BE KING."

(From Nolenkraker Amsterdam, Holland)

sands of armed men, is above Parliament. He who can mobilize an army against the army is above the law.

The French author of the Chronicle prefers to appear after all a gentle and hopeful critic. He glides into the next paragraph with: "But violence passes, and the laws abide. . . . One may, however, be reminded of Pepin le Bref, who, all-powerful as Mayor of the Palace, one day decided

that the Shadow-King was a wearisome anachronism who could die more peacefully in a monastery, and the Merovingian dynasty vanished that day, without bloodshed." Or again, could any French publicist write the words "triumvirate" and "dictatorship" without recalling the rise of either Napoleon? Indeed, the comparison of Mussolini to Lenin is the resounding keynote of the entire account.

Father Mendel and His Centenary

ON July 22, last, the first centenary of the birth of Father Johann Gregorius Mendel was celebrated all over the world by the Augustinian Fathers, of which order he was a member. In the *Ciudad de Dios* Padre Francisco Marcos del Río writes of the simple and modest life led by the discoverer of the Mendelian laws, the most revolutionary contribution to biology since the studies of Darwin.

Mendel's love for botany was hereditary, as his father was devoted to gardening, and his first scientific communication was "Experiments in Hybrids," followed shortly by his "Study on Some Bastards of Hieracium Obtained by Artificial Fecundation." Mendel also experimented on animals and on bees. By a strange coincidence, Father Marcos del Río recalls to us, three botanists (Correns, De Vries and Tschermak) published in 1900 simultaneously and independently of each other, experiments confirming the work done forty years before by the great Augustinian friar.

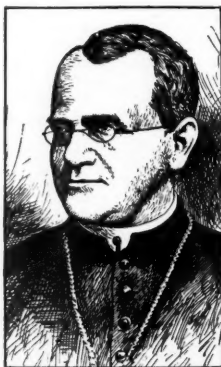
The *Pisum sativum* (common garden pea) was the favorite plant of the experiments, because it is immune from crossed fecundation on account of its stamen and pistils being enclosed in its petals, and because its varieties are very constant and distinct in their characteristics.

The laws which are held as constituting a high percentage of probability in heredity by scientists are roughly speaking three: (1) The law of the predominance or prevalence of the Mendelian characteristics: the fertile hybrids produced by two parents belonging to different races or varieties of

the same species or of two nearly related species will inherit the dominant characteristics and preserve in a latent state the retrogressive characteristics; (2) The law of the disunion of the Mendelian characteristics: Supposing that the dominant and subjective characteristics were joined in the hybrids of the first generation; they will be separated in the hybrids of the second generation in such a way that the predominant characteristics will reappear in the majority of the individuals and the secondary characteristics will be seen only in one-fourth of the other individuals of the same descent; (3) The law of the independence of the same characteristics: Counting from the second generation the hybrids born with the secondary or subjective characteristics will not lose them even though they propagate and reproduce themselves indefinitely; but they are different from their type only by reason of their origin, having merged for all practical purposes into the normal type again.

The far-reaching significance of these laws when applied to the breeding of higher animals and man, especially in the study of hereditary mental and physical taints is obvious.

The Mendelian doctrine, the Spanish Augustinian concludes, forms the most vigorous refutation of the conclusions of Darwin. With our editorial cap and bells in sight, we might suggest that the Kentucky Legislature, once enlivened by the farce of a diatribe against Darwin, may declare at its next dull session an adjournment on his antagonist's anniversary.



FATHER MENDEL

Making Wool Unattractive to Moths

BY FAR the greater part of mankind are clad in garments of wool or cotton, or a mixture of the two, hence the ravages of two tiny insects, the clothes moth and the boll weevil, come home to all of us. The damage done to them, indeed, amounts to millions of dollars annually. It is good news, therefore, to learn that a method has been found to spoil the appetite of the former at least. This is done by treating the wool or woollen goods with a newly discovered chemical which is highly offensive to moths, though it is both odorless and colorless.

Writing in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart), Dr. George Stehli gives the following account:

According to Titschack, the progeny of a single female moth, even if only 50 per cent. of the eggs, which average 130, reach maturity and if 33. per cent. of these are females, is sufficient (counting four generations to a year) to destroy 42 kilograms of wool. . . . Some success has recently been obtained by treatment with hydrocyanic acid and with "zyklon," a mixture of which acts in the same manner, . . . in large warehouses holding woollen goods. This process, however, can never find extended application for household purposes because of the trouble, expense, and danger by which it is attended.

As to the use of cold, Dr. Stehli observes that moths possess considerable resistance to cold, and that anyway such a method is not capable of general use. The newest process is to protect the wool by the substance referred to above, which has the effect of making the material moth-proof. This material has been named "eulan" and was put on the market not long ago by

the well-known dyeworks, Friedr. Bayer & Co., of Leverkusen. It is also called "moth-eulan," especially in the drug trade, which now handles it so that it can be more readily accessible to housewives. Eulan was discovered by a chemist named Meckbach as a result of a series of experiments which began as far back as 1915 and which were based upon the observed fact that moths avoid cloth colored with certain dyes, such, for example, as eosin. Dr. Stehli says:

I have subjected woollen materials made moth-proof by eulan to the most thoroughgoing tests in order to study the effects produced upon the larvae of the clothes moth, using controls of untreated woollen materials. After the lapse of a year I am prepared to give my positive affirmation that wool treated with eulan is perfectly safe from attacks by moths. I placed the caterpillars of all ages upon the untreated cloth, where they soon began to make their characteristic tubes, so that after the lapse of a year the material represented a very labyrinth of holes and tubes, empty cocoon cases, etc. . . . Upon the material treated with eulan, on the other hand, there was not the faintest trace of any injury to be discovered even upon examination under the microscope.

How can we explain this? Apparently through the fact that as soon as the caterpillars have eaten the tiniest shred of wool and thus swallowed some of the eulan they lose their appetites entirely and die of starvation. I was led to this conclusion by the great mortality observed among the caterpillars when placed upon material previously treated with the eulan. While at first they tried to get away from the surface of the material and ran hither and thither, later they remained quiet but without spinning themselves fast and without eating, apparently stupefied, until they perished of starvation. It is also conceivable, as Haase supposes, that they are poisoned by the specific action of the preparation. . . .

Light as a Factor in Agriculture

LIGHT, as an element of climate, has been conspicuously neglected by science. While, under the auspices of the meteorologists, millions of readings of the thermometer are made throughout the world every year, hardly any systematic observations are taken of the intensity of sunlight. Yet it is a well-known fact that many biological processes are profoundly influenced by light rather than heat. On the other hand, a good deal of experimental work has been done in regard to the effects of artificial light upon plants and animals.

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1920 (issued in 1922) contained a paper by W. W. Garner and H. A. Allard, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, dealing with the effect of the relative length of day and night on the flowering and fruiting of plants. This paper, which sets forth the results of extensive researches carried on by the Department, is revolutionary in its announcements and implications. The authors state that "it is a comparatively simple matter to hasten or delay almost at will the flowering and

fruiting of most plants by properly shortening or lengthening the daylight period." This can be done, respectively, by the use of dark houses and artificial light.

A popular résumé of the discoveries in question is given in the current number of the *Popular Science Monthly* (New York) by Lewis E. Theiss, who declares that these discoveries mark the beginning of "a brand-new agriculture, likely to produce new vegetable wonders for our dinner tables at all seasons." Already, he says, Government experts have created, by these methods, chrysanthemums that bloom in July, irises that flower in February, radishes that act like biennials, lettuce that remains indefinitely in the rosette stage, developing no seed, and spinach that does not blossom.

The new methods date from some experiments made with a variety of tobacco known as "Maryland Mammoth." This plant grew to a great size in Maryland, sometimes producing more than 1000 leaves, but failed to produce enough seed for planting. We read:

The investigator of the Bureau of Plant Industry advised raising the Maryland tobacco plant in northern Florida, in winter. The experiment was tried, and the tobacco blossomed and brought forth seed.

The reason? The soil was not greatly different. Cultural conditions were the same. But winter days in Florida are shorter than are summer days in Maryland. *The plant produced seed in Florida in winter because the winter daylight was shorter.*

The investigators had hit upon a significant fact—they now knew that plants belong to their own "union," with a working-day governed by hours of sunlight. Given the proper amount of light, they bear fruit and blossom almost any time. The iris, which commonly flowers in May and June, will not bloom under hothouse conditions in winter, even though May and June temperature conditions are reproduced. The chrysanthemum, even in a chamber artificially cooled to an October temperature, would not bloom in midsummer. Yet, when the secret of light control was discovered, the iris, grown in hothouses strung with electric lamps that artificially lengthened the day by six hours, was made to blossom in winter; while by producing artificially the daylight period of October, chrysanthemums were made to blossom in midsummer.

In following experiments, to determine whether the daily light period affected the reproductive processes in plants, various plantings of soy beans were made, in permanent outdoor beds. Other plantings were made in containers placed in trucks which could be run in and out of a dark house. This specially constructed building shut out all light, but allowed air to pass through freely. Thus it was a simple matter to allow any individual plant only a certain number of hours of light daily.

The soy bean known as "Biloxi" offers a striking example of the results obtained. When planted

under ordinary conditions, in early spring, in Washington, D. C. (where the experiments were made), it continues its purely vegetative processes until 15 or 18 weeks have elapsed, growing huge before flowering. If planted later, however, it tends to flower at the same time as the earlier planted bean. In the experiments, Biloxi soy beans that germinated May 17 were allowed to receive only seven hours of light daily, beginning May 20. In 26 days the plants were in bloom. A similar lot of plants, exposed to the full period of daily light, required 110 days to flower. Thus the soy bean, which ordinarily flowers in September, was forced to flower in June simply by shortening the daylight period. Further tests proved that the plant flowered equally well if exposed to a 12-hour daylight period, revealing the fact that the soy bean is a 12-hour-day flowering plant, normally blooming in September, the period of equal days and nights.

By similar facts revealed in tests with other plants, the scientists proved that if a plant is prevented from flowering by keeping it from attaining the proper daylight period, it will remain blossomless until its required normal light period is regained.

The tremendous importance of this discovery to agriculture is apparent. Consider the radish, for example. Normally, it is sown in early spring. Usually within six weeks it shoots up a flower stem, blooms and dies. The Scarlet Globe variety of radish, when planted May 15, began to blossom June 21 under normal conditions, proving it is a long-day plant. When the same variety of radish, however, was planted at the same time, but allowed only seven hours of light a day, the edible root grew slowly and the rosette leaves grew large, but no flower stem was formed. When the plant was removed to a hothouse in winter, it continued to grow slowly, but as soon as the long days of summer came, it shot up a flower stem, and died, thus completing its cycle. *The amazing thing about these experiments was that scientists, by artificial methods, had changed the radish from an annual to a biennial!*

Cosmos, when started too late in the season to develop its bloom, continued to grow in the hothouse for another year, blooming in its second year, at the period of 12-hour days. Meantime, the plant grew to a height of 15 feet!

This showed that regulation of light will actually regulate even the size of plants.

Lettuce and spinach showed similar traits. They go to seed under normal conditions, yet when their days were shortened artificially, they remained in the rosette stage. The significant fact here is that *vegetables which are now delicacies because they go to seed when hot weather arrives, may be kept from doing so by regulating their daylight period.*

Perhaps the most far-reaching result of the tests is the use of artificial light regulation for plant breeding. Heretofore, plant breeders have been unable to make desired cross-breeds, because of their inability to eliminate differences in time of flowering of the two parental flowers. Artificial light control will make it possible to synchronize their blooming periods.

The term "photoperiodism" has been adopted by the Department to designate the response of a plant to the relative length of day and night.

Where Was Robinson Crusoe's Island?

IT is a curiously persistent error that the Chilean island of Juan Fernandez, and the lonely life there of the marooned Scotch sailor, Alexander Selkirk, furnished anything more than the general suggestion for Defoe's imaginative story or its location. The whole picture is tropical, and has been identified by some students with the West Indies.

But in the *Mercur de France* for November 15, M. Paul Dottin shows, quite beyond cavil, that there has always been an abundance of accurate first-hand information to settle everything short of the precise latitude and longitude of an isle as purely imaginary as Prospero's. Yet the "problem" has been debated endlessly. Most amusing is the "drive" made for Tobago, just north of Trinidad. To be sure, at the date of Crusoe's shipwreck, 1659, this island was perfectly well known, and a Dutch colony was already twenty years in full possession!

Yet in 1901 the British governor—evidently, as M. Dottin remarks, a genial humorist with a keen eye for the profitable visits of wealthy Yankee tourists—declared in the *London Times*:

On a Tobago beach I have just found the print of Friday's foot. Robinson's cave in the hills had been earlier discovered, and excavation brought to light the skeleton of the aged goat buried there by the famous hermit.

This latter precious relic had actually been exhibited to admiring throngs of devout believers, at the Chicago World's Fair, eight years before. That two English critics, Hyatt Merritt and Clifford Howard, have championed, as the French essayist avers, the claims of Tobago *on such grounds*, in these last years, in a serious geographical review, seems even less credible.

That the alluring subject itself, of an involuntary hermit on a lonely isle, was first suggested to Defoe by the bringing of Selkirk to Bristol by Capt. Woode Rogers in October, 1711, is clear. But Defoe was then immersed in political intrigues, as a paid partisan of the famous minister Harley. Eight-years later, out of favor, growing old, with precarious returns from his prolific pen, he turned to this subject for a piece of hasty hack work. He must make the tale appear credible, and avoid any marked plagiarism from the Selkirk narrative, which had been published repeatedly. From the latter he

has, in fact, borrowed a few rather incongruous features, especially the penguins, impossible on a tropical island. The tale is however essentially an invention: a wonderful creation.

And for exactness in the geographical setting, at any rate, no writer could have been better equipped. In the last days of William III (1700-1) Defoe had been employed to draft plans for a grand campaign against the Spanish colonies between the Isthmus and the Orinoco delta. Just before the Crusoe book he had published a pamphlet of fifty pages on Sir Walter Raleigh's unexecuted project for explorations in just that region, and had offered to the South Seas Company his own elaborate maps of the coast, river navigation, etc., undoubtedly prepared from seventeen to eighteen years before. These are lost, but others of the time show remarkably full, accurate details—with a notable exaggeration of the Orinoco mouth. Especially prominent is a series of elongated islands, stretching far toward mid-sea.

Now the very title, in the original edition, runs: "The Life and Strange Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, a sailor who lived 28 years all alone on an uninhabited island, on the coast of America, *near the mouth of the Orinoco.*"

Furthermore, to the Second Part, "which is ignored apparently by many English critics," Defoe attaches a large map of Crusoe's numerous voyages, marking in large letters his islet, far off the river mouth, and also, of course, far south of the Antilles. The narrative itself, of that Second Part, clearly traces the voyagers past that series of seaward islands already mentioned, and beyond to Crusoe's sea-girt abode. On one of those islands he encounters Spaniards "who had come from Trinidad, an island that lies to the northward": a *coup de grâce* for Tobago's claims if yet needed.

This scene of the narrative must be a wholly unknown islet. Inventive romance was not an accepted form of art in Defoe's day. Mystification was his aim. Evidence that the tale was "false" would have exposed the teller to serious attack by any one of his many enemies: but none of his contemporaries was equal to the task of "exposure."

This brief essay is full of logic, wit, and

charm. The closing words demand full quotation:

In reality, the famous island is all about us. The child who reads the immortal book of Daniel Defoe puts himself in Robinson's place. His island is—his own room, his garden, wherever he chances to be: and in his imagination, isolating himself thus from all the world about him, he will see himself

living the life of the hero of his dreams. Again, far advanced in life, feeling himself weary of mankind, he will again seek within himself the isle of repose, of solitude, where, remote from disturbances and worries, he can taste perfect calm, and contemplate with serenity the vast desolate horizon . . . until the day when the print of Friday's foot shall mercilessly remind him that man may not live on alone upon this earth.

The Study of Spanish in American Schools and Colleges

THE entry of the United States into the world conflict resulted in the dropping of German from the curricula of many schools. Even where this was not done, the study of the language was voluntarily abandoned by large bodies of students. To fill the great void left by this action, it was necessary to substitute a language which would approximate, in part at least, the intense popularity held by German before the war. Spanish was the only modern tongue which seemed to meet the requirements of being practical as a course of study and commercially useful. (French, while important as a means of international communication, has always had a cultural appeal.)

The surprising permanence and popularity which Spanish seems to have attained in American schools (in spite of the slow and inevitable renaissance of German) has impelled Mr. Lawrence A. Wilkins to contribute an article on the subject to the *Educational Review* (Garden City) for December. The writer is in charge of modern languages in the high schools of New York, and can be considered an authority on that branch of study. Some educators, he says, have not viewed the popularity of Spanish with entire favor. With these dissentients, however, Mr. Wilkins does not agree. But laying aside his own belief as to the importance and value of the language, he thought it might be desirable to ascertain the impartial opinions of various men of prominence. With that end in view, he sent out the following letter:

In view of statements recently made by certain educators to the effect that the study of Spanish by young North Americans is of little value to them and that the desire to study that language is but a whim that will pass, I write to ask whether you would be willing to send me, when time permits, a statement of your opinion of the importance of the study of this language in the secondary schools of this country.

An opinion from you would indeed be of great value.

In the twenty-eight high schools of this city about 33,000 students are enrolled in Spanish classes, 24,000 in French, and 2,750 in German. The enrollment in German is slowly increasing.

Favorable replies were received from a number of eminent Americans.

While admitting that these replies "represent largely the personal opinions of the writers," Mr. Wilkins says:

But at the same time, one must give more than ordinary weight to these opinions, because of the fact that they have doubtless been formed from very broad experience and from close acquaintance with the needs of the nation. Probably these beliefs have also additional value from the very fact that they are not those of professional schoolmen necessarily absorbed in more or less traditional views and routine. In fact, a very limited number of administrators of American education have had any contact whatsoever with the Spanish language or the civilization and culture of Spain or Spanish America. Not until the rising generation, which to-day in some measure is experiencing that contact through the study of Spanish, comes to occupy positions of power in our schools and colleges, will there prevail a justly proportioned perspective of the importance of those things as factors in our education. In the letters quoted we see several reasons for the study of Spanish in American schools: (1) its necessity in commercial life (and the utility value of a language affords indeed a sound basis for its study); (2) its importance as a medium of human intercourse, second only to English in the New World; (3) the creation of a better understanding between Spanish America on the one hand and Anglo-Saxon America on the other, as the result of the interpenetration of ideas which would spring from a knowledge on our part of the language of our Latin fellow-Americans; (4) the enrichment of our own lives by the absorption of the best things of Hispanic culture; and (5) the necessity these days of North Americans devoting more time and effort to linguistic studies in general.

Some one (was it not Elihu Root?) recently said that the twentieth century was beyond peradventure to be the "century of Spanish America."

Is it not high time that educators grasped the importance of those things that are advocated by the men of ample vision quoted above?

Foreign Health Conditions that Threaten America

IN the current number of *American Medicine*, Dr. Royal S. Copeland, recently translated from the position of health commissioner of New York City to the United States Senate, describes the heart-rending conditions that he witnessed during a visit to Poland last spring, and tells us how these conditions threaten the welfare of our own country. He declares that, unless certain precautionary measures are promptly taken, the pestilential diseases now raging in Poland and Russia—especially typhus—will sweep the world. Already, since his article appeared, the newspapers have announced the discovery of typhus cases on ships arriving at New York.

Dr. Copeland's objective point in Poland was Baronowichi. This is one of the points, and the principal one, through which a vast number of Poles are now returning to their own country, after having been exiled by the Russian Bolsheviks to remote parts of the former Empire. The story of the exile and return of these unfortunates is one of the most frightful chapters of recent history. Three and a half million of them were driven from their homes, after having been stripped of most of their possessions. Under the terms of a treaty between Russia and Poland, they are now being repatriated by the Russians. Dr. Copeland describes the arrival of a train-load of the refugees. They had been traveling eight months, packed in freight cars "with no more regard for sex and family relationships than for ventilation and other comforts." The cars were those used by the Russians "for transporting live stock, fertilizers or refugees, as circumstance might dictate."

Of those who originally had started on the first train which I saw pull in, 150 had died upon the way. It was a lucky train. Another which arrived while I was there brought just 600 refugees altho it had begun the trip with 2100.

During the tremendous journey all these poor people had had to eat had been an average of a quarter of a loaf of bread per day per person—and such bread! It was made of peat and seeds of weeds, with, in much of it, another ingredient which I shall not mention. That was the sole food provided.

Not an ounce of hot food or hot water had been obtainable by any person on that train during the eight months of the journey.

The passengers, dull-eyed and listless, altho the end of their great journey had come at last, struggled from the train, a curious, deadened sameness in their looks and actions; yet originally they had been

of widely varying social classes. Most of them, of course, were peasants, but among them were many who had once been members of the nobility.

Lastly, these wretched travelers were infested with vermin—the potential carrier of typhus. Herein is the great danger for the rest of the world. Of the seven places through which the refugees are returning to Poland, three have no hospitals of any sort, while at the other places hospital and quarantine arrangements are wholly inadequate.

The peril of ungarded points of admission from the Russian nightmare country into Poland was clear enough, and at Baronowichi the makeshift hospitals are crowded and many patients cannot find accommodation.

Unless provisions are made speedily for inspection, delousing and hospitalization there and elsewhere, of every individual returning refugee, disease must spread. This is the universal testimony of every expert who has studied the grim situation.

Another universally acknowledged and alarming fact is that typhus, as time passes, is becoming constantly more virulent. Such phenomena have been known before.

After my visit to Poland I went to Geneva to confer with Dr. Rajcman, the executive head of the Health Committee of the League of Nations. He gave me a report made to the League by Professor L. Tarrassevitch indicating that in Russia, during the past four years, there have been more than four million cases of typhus alone, to say nothing of the other plagues.

I asked Dr. Rajcman if he credited so terrible a statement. His answer was that in his opinion it was too conservative an estimate and that the actual number of cases probably has been not slightly greater but ten times as great. His estimate is that actual cases in Russia from this plague have numbered forty-five millions, out of a total population of 130 millions. This seems fantastic—in fact, it is not beyond the bounds of reason.

Dr. Rajcman reports that as regards cholera all the figures given out must be multiplied by twenty-five if we wish to make a good guess at the truth.

While little can be done for the unfortunates within the infected area, Dr. Copeland tells us that it would by no means be a formidable task to check the spread of disease to adjacent countries. He says:

All the great European experts with whom I have consulted agree that the very first essential is the erection of hospitals and delousing stations competent to care for all who come in the seven points of re-entrance from Russia into Poland.

These hospitals need not be permanent structures but of the temporary military type.

In addition, there should be barracks provided for the detained persons.

To each hospital should be sent at least one trained nurse who has had good experience and speaks Polish.

Conserving Our Animal Life

IT is interesting to remark some of the changes that have occurred in both the public and the private mind recently, as to questions relating directly or indirectly to the control of the animal life indigenous to this country. So far as the public is concerned, these matters find most direct expression in the game laws enacted at various times by the several States; and by treaty rights which have even broader application. Matters of personal right usually have expressed or implied narrower restrictions.

In the earlier literature of the country, we find few references to a state of mind out of which could have grown a spirit in support of the laws and treaties which imply the right of the public to regulate affairs dealing directly with animal life. It is doubtful if, a century ago, public opinion would have supported and made possible the negotiations out of which grew the recent treaty between the United States and Canada, protecting migratory birds. Nor is it likely that, a century ago, it would have been possible to create a public sentiment sufficiently strong to save the remnant of the herds of American bison, as was done, in the case of the disappearing fragment, a few years since, by Dr. Hornaday and a few others.

In 1857 (according to Dr. Hornaday in his book, "Our Vanishing Wild Life") a select committee of the Ohio Senate

adopted a report on a bill which proposed wisely to "protect" the passenger pigeon, as follows:

The passenger pigeon needs no protection. Wonderfully prolific, having the vast forests of the North as its breeding grounds, traveling hundreds of miles in search of food, it is here to-day and elsewhere to-morrow, and no ordinary destruction can lessen them.

For about *twenty years* the passenger pigeon has been acknowledged by expert field ornithologists to be extinct. (The present writer, a middle-aged man and an observer of bird-life since his boyhood, never saw one alive.) It is doubtful if to-day conditions would be allowed to exist similar to those which caused the tragic disappearance of the pigeons. For we know (despite the bland ignorance of the Ohio law-makers) that for years the birds were being ruthlessly slaughtered, and that their inevitable fate could not have been overlooked by intelligent people of the time.

Out of that spirit has grown the splendid Bureau of Biological Survey, of the United States Department of Agriculture, manned by intelligent field naturalists, who have made the study of wild life their life work, and who, obviously, are dedicated to the intelligent conservation of it. From that Bureau is pouring a never-ending stream of printed matter, much of which is offered to the public, without money and without

price. The attitude of the field naturalists now actually at work is well expressed by Edward A. Goldman, an assistant biologist, in a Bulletin ("Conservation of Our Wild Animals and Birds") reprinted from the "Year-book" of the Department of Agriculture:

The conservation of wild animals and birds is not a mere fad indulged in by those who have only a sentimental interest in the subject. It has a much greater importance, due to values difficult to measure but none the less real. Wild game especially is often of direct economic value to the inhabitants of a region, not only as food, but also because



FEEDING HAY TO ELK AT THE WINTER REFUGE

of the expenditures of hunters and others attracted by its presence; and the recreational and educational advantages arising from the abundance of wild life in general are incalculable. Many valuable forms of wild life have disappeared within recent years, or are now being threatened with extinction by the changing conditions brought about by man, especially by the general encroachment on their haunts accompanying his progressive settlement of the country, along with too indiscriminate use of the gun and the trap. Modern firearms, including repeating or automatic shotguns and rifles, give the hunter an immense advantage over the game. The automobile, better roads, extension of rapid transit, and finally the airplane, enable the hunter quickly to reach the most isolated places and have greatly reduced the natural seclusion so essential to the general welfare of many game animals. Furthermore, the game laws, in many cases still defective, are the more easily evaded through the use of these means of conveyance. . . .

Then follows an illuminating discussion of game conditions in various parts of the country, illustrated by reproductions of photographs taken by experts. In the article above mentioned, Mr. Goodman includes a particularly interesting and informing consideration of the narrow escape, from almost certain extinction, of the splendid elk, the noblest species of American deer, rescued recently from literal starvation, in the nick of time, mainly by the action of the Biological Survey. He writes:

Especial interest attaches to the elk of the Yellowstone Park region, as they constitute the only really large herds of big game remaining in the United States; and these are mere remnants of the former herds whose general range was measured by the full width of the continent, from Maine to California. Until recently a northern group, ranging in summer mainly within the Yellowstone National Park and migrating northward, was regarded as the larger, but it suffered greatly from the adverse conditions of the winter of 1919-20, and in all probability will never again attain its former numbers.

The elk comprising the southern group are widely scattered in summer at high elevations in the southern part of Yellowstone National Park and in the mountains of the Teton, Bridger and Wyoming National Forests. With the first heavy snowfall in early winter they descend or migrate to lower levels, and formerly passed out open valleys, where the snow was light and forage abundant. With the coming of the settlers, however, their winter range became more and more restricted. Many were



ELK UNDER UNCLE SAM'S CARE IN WINTER

killed and the survivors have been forced to winter in the Snake River drainage, thousands congregating in the path of their former migrating, in the vicinity of the refuge mentioned.

Following a prolonged summer drought which curtailed the growth of forage throughout the region, the winter of 1919-20 was unusually long and severe. In addition to the stock of hay on hand at the Winter Elk Refuge, the State of Wyoming provided about 500 tons of hay and a carload of cotton-seed oil cake. An emergency purchase of 573 tons of hay by the Biological Survey in January, because of the conditions which it was foreseen would become desperate, prevented disaster to the herd. Several thousand elk frequently congregate on the feeding ground, where they crowd closely about the wagons from which the hay is distributed, and the spectacle thus presented is one long to be remembered by the fortunate visitor to the place. The cotton-seed oil cake proved to be a particularly attractive ration, and the ordinarily shy, retiring animals quickly formed the habit of advancing with confidence to take pieces from the hand, and in some instances even from the lips, of those in attendance. Summer range and forage for elk are still plentiful, but additional lands adjoining the present winter refuge are urgently needed to furnish an adequate supply of winter feed and insure the permanence of the largest remaining herd of these splendid game animals, the most majestic of all the deer.

Even "The Friendless Snake" has his word, in passing, and there is an interesting section on "Big Game and Bird Reservations," which are followed by these thoughtful remarks, in conclusion:

The conservation of wild animal life, intimately bound up with the conservation of natural resources in general, has become a necessity. The alternative would transform our country into a land as barren of natural interest as some of the waste parts of the Old World and stripped of material assets which should contribute immeasurably to our wealth, comfort and well-being.

The Importance of Physical Education

IN a press bulletin issued by the U. S. Bureau of Education in connection with "American Education Week" (December 3-9) a section is devoted to the subject of physical education and school health work. From the statistics here given it appears that between \$12,000,000 and \$15,000,000 was spent during the year 1921 to safeguard the health and further the physical development of American schoolchildren. In all our larger cities the schools employ physicians or nurses, or both, and about 500 towns and cities maintain playgrounds under paid leadership. Nevertheless it is stated that this is but a small fraction of what ought to be done along such lines. The rural communities are extremely backward in the matter of school health supervision and physical education. Throughout the country "only about one-tenth of the 3,000,000 children of school age are receiving anything which even pretends to be adequate physical education and health training."

In the current number of *School Life*, also published by the Bureau of Education, appears an address by Mr. Will C. Wood, State Superintendent of Schools of California, dealing especially with physical education in the direction of what the author calls "big-muscle activities," as distinguished from health supervision and instruction in hygiene. The war and the draft focused attention upon this matter and greatly stimulated the movement that was already on foot in behalf of recognizing physical education as an indispensable part of the curriculum. As to the provision of playgrounds, we are told that "it is not an unusual thing to find high school buildings placed on 15 to 40 acres of land, largely as a result of the agitation started by the Playground and Recreation Association of America." Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls and Pioneer Scouts are spreading the gospel of outdoor exercise. The "county play-day" has been a successful means of bringing rural dwellers to an appreciation of the value of play and physical education.

Concerning the growing importance of this subject the author says:

Changes in the social and economic life of our country have made physical education inevitable. In 1790 only 3 per cent. of the population of America lived in cities. The last census showed an urban population of 53 per cent., the growth of urban

population during the previous decade being about 5 per cent. For the last 130 years America has been renewing her vitality through the contact of her people with nature in the forests and open country. The American people, however, are no longer a rural people. The physical activities and opportunities of the open country are no longer possible for a majority of them. The growth of cities and the development of industrialism in America compel us to develop a system of physical education to take the place of the recreational and educative opportunities of outdoor life.

As to the manifold benefits to be derived from developing the body along with the mind, we read:

Physical education, through organized activities must tend to raise the level of sportsmanship and develop right ideals of play and recreation. The social value of activities must not be overlooked. Good sportsmanship on the playfields may be carried over into after life. One of the greatest needs of the industrial world to-day is that of good sportsmanship and cooperation. I believe that we may develop on the playfields of America much of that sportsmanship that is needed for the successful organization and conduct of American industry.

Physical education will also provide for the worthy use of leisure in later life. We live in an iron age, an age of machinery, specialization, and narrow skill. The working day of the laborer is becoming steadily shorter. He has more time on his hands. If the leisure which modern industry affords to the working men and women is used for dissipation, then leisure will prove a curse rather than a blessing. However, leisure may be a very great blessing if it is devoted to recreation activities that will improve the vitality of the individual. Physical education should lead the worker to spend his leisure time in worthy recreational activities.

The author's personal experience is thus recorded:

In California, in 1917, we decided that it was necessary for us to take hold of the physical education movement and direct it along sound educational lines. In that year the legislature passed a bill providing that physical education should be compulsory. We have been working under that law for almost five years. The bill had its origin in a study of the results of the draft, which showed that 29.85 per cent. of all the boys included in the first draft were physically defective. It was about this time that compulsory military drill in the schools was being advocated. We found that military authorities were in agreement with us as to objectives to be attained, so it was not difficult to convince them that physical education rather than military drill was needed to attain these objectives. Thirty minutes a day of physical education was prescribed for pupils in elementary schools and at least two hours a week in high schools. The same legislature passed a law providing for health supervision. These two acts constitute the basis of the program of physical education in the State.

The results have been gratifying, and should serve to stimulate like work elsewhere.

Fears for the Furs

DEALERS in furs, and the numerically large element who have to do with them, have been made aware that there is real danger to that industry, producers and consumers alike, because of the increasing scarcity of fur-bearing animals. This is (commercially, at least) a far more important matter than, at first glance, it may seem to be. A large percentage of outer garments in these days are made with a more or less free admixture of fur, some of which is purely ornamental, of course; but a good deal of which is as necessary (in women's garments, especially) as is any other form of decoration. At any rate, from the supply have developed immense and heavily capitalized businesses, and the employment of highly expert classes of dealers in both the raw and the finished products employed.

An intelligent discussion of the subject is contained in a Circular (No. 135) of the Bureau of Biological Survey, of the Department of Agriculture, by Ned Dearborn, an assistant biologist, known as an authority on fur-bearing animals, who cites the following, as a warning:

A concrete example of the rise in fur prices is afforded by the actual record of one man's fur-lined overcoat. This coat, lined with mink, in 1913 cost \$500. After wearing the coat two years the owner sold the mink lining for \$1,000 and replaced it with nutria at a cost of \$150. Two years later, in 1917, he had the nutria lining removed and sold it for \$250. A muskrat lining was then put in for \$55, which, in 1919, was in turn removed and sold for \$300. The original owner still has the shell.

The example may demonstrate the owner's bargaining ability, but it also proves the inflated condition of the fur market. "A comparison of the highest prices at the October sales in St. Louis in 1915 with those in 1919," says Mr. Dearborn, "illustrates the remarkable increase in fur values: Beaver advanced in these four years from \$17 to \$38.50, otter from \$14 to \$101, muskrat from \$0.63½ to \$5.10, red fox from \$15.20 to \$64, fisher from \$25.50 to \$205, skunk from \$3.36 to \$10.60, and marten from \$15.20 to \$145." In the circular referred to above are recited several instances of the unusual conditions affecting the normality of the fur trade, like the following: "A fur buyer in Illinois recently told of two boys near Ottawa who trapped along the Illinois River during the

winter of 1919-20 and sold \$1,000 worth of skunk, muskrat and mink skins, and further stated that many other boys around the country did quite as well. Alaskan trappers, in 1918, sold furs valued at \$1,363,600." Such conditions as these must not only have helped to disorganize the fur market, but must have affected the available supply. Many similar instances could be cited, showing that the available supply is being "trapped out," and the furs rushed to the market, there to be sold for whatever they will bring. Says Mr. Dearborn:

Although America still produces a large quantity of fur, about half of the skin disposed of in American sales are of foreign origin. The total value of furs imported into the United States in 1919 was more than \$76,000,000. Our foreign trade in this industry is of no little importance, as fur is one of the few commodities Europe can sell us. It is estimated that the money spent in America yearly for fur garments is well over \$1,000,000. The gross trade of fur merchants in New York alone during 1919, including exports, imports, and domestic trade in raw and manufactured furs, amounted to upwards of \$375,000,000. . . . High prices of furs are equivalent to large bounties or rewards for killing fur animals, and unless steps to counterbalance them are taken immediately we may look to see these animals practically exterminated in many places.

It is easy to catch the drift of all this, and much that accompanies the incident discussion. Fur farming, skillfully managed, must be established soon, in this country, and rigidly practised. Incidentally, there must be better protection for the fur-bearers. Trappers know that a large percentage of the furs trapped are actually lost, because the animals were taken when their fur was unprime. According to Mr. Dearborn, "forty States have enactments establishing close seasons for fur-bearers and sixteen States have given rare and valuable animals, as the beaver, otter and marten, the benefit of a close period covering periods of five years or more." Close study of the fur-bearers develops interesting animal characteristics, of which Mr. Dearborn mentions a few:

Each wild animal has a special range on which it lives and to which it becomes attached by association. In the same way an animal that is well provided for in confinement soon becomes contented and attached to its surroundings. Minks that have been in captivity for a few months have been known to return to their dens voluntarily after having escaped. Martens seem to do this invariably; at

least numerous instances have been recorded in which they have returned to their cages and been captured.

A muskrat that had been kept in a cage several months at the National Zoological Park, in Washington, was returned to its native waters in Rock Creek when the cold weather came on, as it was not thought worth while to keep it through the winter. The morning after its liberation it was found back again on the hill near its cage, and it remained in the vicinity until it fell into a post hole and died.

A red fox that had been kept on a ranch with a

cross and a silver fox was turned loose, as its owner did not wish to feed or to kill it. The guard fence surrounding this ranch consisted of a high board fence, the owner of the ranch living in a cabin within the stockade. Every morning, almost invariably, when the stockade door was opened the red fox was waiting to come in and visit his former comrades. . . . Apparently this fox came back from pure love of locality, as it received no feed at the ranch after its liberation, and after spending an hour at the ranch each day it returned to the forest. . . .

Some Queer Natural History

AMAZING and amusing exhibitions of ignorance of common facts of natural history are contained in the article supplied by Dr. William Gould Vinal to the *Nature Study Review* (Ithaca, N. Y.), for November. Dr. Vinal is a member of the Rhode Island College of Education, and has been interesting himself especially in the subject indicated. He says:

The following notes are based on a recent examination which was given to test the kind and extent of mistakes pertaining to natural history. The total number examined was 281. This included fourteen different classes ranging from the Junior High School through the College. The results show how little the average student thinks and how little most of them see. Without doubt thousands more will roam the same road until our school authorities open the avenues to think and discover. If there were any way of knowing, many people would be glad to learn, *sub rosa* or otherwise, whether they should be classed as traditionalists or progressives. . . .

Has your training been one of tradition or realities. . . . Many of our "old sayings" are anything but true. "Busy bee" is the most familiar. Ninety to 100 per cent. in the various schools examined remembered the old adage. Yet a humble bee is the antithesis of thrift and does not store enough honey to keep the colony over winter. Only the queen survives the rigors of winter. If by the "busy bee" is meant the honey bee, we have but to recall that the community is noted for its drones. The queen and drones do none of the work of the hive, have no pollen baskets, cannot sting, and cannot secrete wax. All the members of the hive loaf or hibernate during the winter. It would be far more appropriate to say "idle as a bee."

A naturalist does not need to be reminded that bats are not blind; owls are not wise; loons are not crazy; adders are not deaf; peacocks are not proud; crows are not black; hornets are not mad. The results show, however, that people are more apt to remember an old saying which is an untruth (prosaic ignorance) than even one economic fact about an animal. Is this because of or in spite of our education system? . . .

It is rather astonishing to find that the adder and the hawk are the only two animals in the list that are more apt to be remembered in connection with some economic act than in any old saying. It is also surprising to find that with the exception of the

seniors in the agricultural college, the pupils in the junior high school are the only ones to know more about the economics of these common animals than about their myths. In the case of the bat five girls out of fourteen in a junior high school mentioned the possibility of bats getting into one's hair. Only one boy out of fourteen mentioned that this might happen. This belief is a feminine trait, perhaps because they are more concerned. Tradition is long-lived. The tax that progress has to pay superstition is the worst kind of taxation because along with it vanishes the power of reasoning.

Old sayings are passed down for the most part by "word of mouth." They receive a great deal of encouragement in first-grade readers and early-grade literature. The sayings pertain to our common animals. At the same time our current literature and government publications furnish a host of facts about these same animals. Then there is the opportunity of gaining information by observation. Hearsay, reading and observation are the three vehicles of information and if judged by the present-day results the effectiveness diminishes in the order named, hearsay being far more potent in our present working conception than observation. One is passive absorption, the other is active production. One is parasitism, the other kinetic energy. One is nursery-rhyme mysticism, the other is work bench service. One is charity entertainment, the other has everyone in the play. One is predigested food, the other is food for digestion. One is senile sport, the other is youthful enjoyment. . . .

Ten ideas like "blind as a bat" remain ten ideas. There is nothing to provoke new thought. The discovery of one idea about the bat—as, it eats insects—demands more ideas. One can be intellectually as well as physically blind. . . . If educational courses mean self-indulgence, they stop there. If they mean "I have come to make life more abundant," the curriculum needs revision. . . . Take crows for example: 50 per cent. of the economic facts were that crows eat corn. Only 20 to 22 per cent. mention anything of credit to the crow, yet the authorities say that the crow's account with the farmer far outweighs the debit side. A small minority—yet a serious number—mention such things as "pick your eyes out." . . .

The hawk record parallels that of the crow. Fifty per cent. of those examined mentioned the reputation which has been established in the human mind that "hawks steal chickens." Twenty-one per cent. speak of the hawk as dangerous to small birds. The unclassified answers were such as: "It steals"; "Dangerous"; "Eats people"; "Takes

away children at times"; "Injurious to small children." . . .

How do students of to-day answer the question—what is the color of the robin's breast? Forty-two per cent. say red; 17 per cent. say reddish brown; 15 per cent., orange red; and only 4 per cent. out of 281 mention that there is a difference between the male and the female. . . . The next step consisted in placing a male robin (the male is brighter colored) in a paper bag and cutting a small hole to show a small area of the breast. Eighteen graduates of various high schools were asked to name the color. The answers were as follows: brown, 8; yellow brown, 4; gray brown, 2; golden brown, 1; orange, 1. When observing the robin's breast without the blinders of nursery rhyme, no one called it red. . . . Sentimentally none of us would abolish the phrase "robin redbreast." It has a homespun attractiveness. Educationally, however, it is important to know that red is red. . . . That robin redbreast does not have a red breast is representative of a group of contradictions in the language of natural history. The wing of the red-winged blackbird is not red; the shell of the soft-shelled clam is not soft; the black mussel is blue;

the starfish is not a fish; the potato bug is not a bug; nuthatches do not hatch nuts; flying squirrels cannot fly; darning needles are unable to darn; wormy apples do not contain worms; and the waves are never, never "mountain high."

How do squirrels open nuts? The answers were as follows: "with their teeth" (60 per cent.); "crack them open" (18 per cent.); "with their mouths" (7 per cent.); "gnaw them open" (4 per cent.). Contrary to prevailing opinion, squirrels cannot crack nuts. They gnaw them open. It is interesting to note that amongst a hundred college freshmen (50 men and 50 women) this knowledge was limited to 12 per cent. of the men.

For the information especially of our school-teacher readers, it seems worth while to call attention again to the fact that an immense amount of accurately, but simply, expressed, American natural history is contained in the great number of bulletins published at times to record the accurate investigations of the government naturalists; and that records of the bulletins (many of them to be had gratis or for a small fee) are contained in a catalogue, issued free of charge by the Department of Agriculture.

Are We Dancing On a Soap-Bubble?

THE crust of the earth upon which we live and have our being is very thin compared to the mass of the earth itself, so that it is quite fair to compare it to the delicate film of tenuous soap-suds which forms a soap-bubble. This film is, of course, in a state of tension—the greater the tension the thinner being the bubble and the sooner it arrives at its inevitable collapse. But the tenacity of this film varies according to the character of the soap solution employed in blowing the bubble. Thus, if glycerine be added to the suds in the proper proportion, a stronger bubble is formed.

It has occurred to an inquisitive man of science to wonder just how strong the earth crust is and whether there is any danger that it may some day collapse and tumble us all into subterranean fires. The scientist in question, Dr. Baudisch, has attacked the problem by means of physico-mathematical investigations. We find in *Reclam's Universum* (Leipzig) a summary

of his conclusions, from which we quote as follows:

The question involved is whether the crust of the earth is sufficiently strong to bear its own weight. It resembles the shell of an egg in being comparatively thin with respect to the diameter of the globe. The egg-shell supports itself, *i.e.*, it is sufficiently strong and firm to resist the strain of the pressure to which it is subjected. Physical experiments have demonstrated that the egg-shell is likewise able to withstand a very great increase in the pressure of the air.

Now, if we assume the thickness of the earth crust to be 300 km. and its specific gravity to be 2,500 kg. per cubic meter, it becomes clear that the crust is not able to support itself. The pressure upon it is enormous, amounting to 777 kg. per square centimeter. The best grade of hardened wrought steel will support only a pressure of 10,000 kg. on the same area. This low degree of resistance also explains the location of volcanoes on the sea coast. Moreover, to the air pressure water pressure must be added.

Dr. Baudisch concludes that our permanence upon the earth crust is by no means assured—in other words, we are dancing on top of a glass ball.

The Decline of Potato Products in Germany

FROM an article contributed to *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.) by Mr. Alfred P. Dennis, special representative in Germany of the Department of Commerce, it appears that potato-growing in that country has suffered more severely as a result of the war than any other of the major agricultural crops. For the three post-war years the average potato crop was only 52 per cent. of the average yield in the three pre-war years. This great falling off in production has wrought havoc with certain industries that flourished before the war, and that were often cited as examples for the emulation of American manufacturers.

In Germany before the war less than one-third of the potato crop was used directly as human food. The rest was utilized as stock food and in the manufacture of alcohol, starch and potato flour. Of Germany's immense production of alcohol at that period 80 per cent. was distilled from potatoes. To-day German alcohol is made chiefly from imported corn, the majority of which comes from the United States. The manufacture of potato starch is at low ebb, and that of potato flour has practically ceased. The amount of potatoes fed to cattle and hogs has declined from more than 17,000,000 tons per annum before the war to 2,000,000 tons.

The per capita consumption of potatoes as human food has, notwithstanding the diminished production, increased from 400 pounds in 1914 to 660 pounds in 1921, but the principal consumers are not the same as before the war. Mr. Dennis says:

In the pre-war period potatoes formed the main item in food consumption of the German agricultural population, 6,000,000 tons out of the total production being used through this channel, which works out to 726 pounds per capita. In the manual-labor class 1,170,000 tons were used per year, a per capita consumption of 484 pounds; factory hands used 3,760,000 tons annually, or 374 pounds per person; and the so-called upper and middle classes absorbed only 1,480,000 tons, or 242 pounds per capita. As a result of the post-war food shortage and the impoverishment of the university classes and semi-leisured folk, there has been a striking reversal in the absorption of potatoes by the different German classes; the German farmer is relatively better off than any other class and is consuming relatively fewer potatoes than heretofore. With post-war German industry keyed to a high pitch, factory hands are fairly prosperous and are not concentrating on potatoes. It is the classes which formerly used potatoes most sparingly as an article

of food that are now compelled to concentrate on potatoes as a substitute for bread.

So much was published in this country a few years ago about the industrial uses of potatoes in Germany that the following facts should evoke interest:

The German alcohol business was founded originally on grain distillation, but heavy taxation caused the distilleries to move from cities to the country districts and to substitute potatoes for grain as their essential raw material. About 6,000 distilleries were in operation employing as raw material 2,500,000 tons of potatoes, with an output of 3,000,000 hectoliters of alcohol (1 hectoliter equals 26.4 gallons). The flourishing alcohol business, at its maximum producing 3,500,000 hectoliters of spirits from potatoes, has always been handicapped by a shortage in the supply of raw material. The season of 1915-16 was the last good potato year in Germany; in the following season the production fell off more than 50 per cent. and has made but small recovery since. The loss to Poland of the Posen district has alone reduced Germany's potato-alcohol producing capacity by 25 per cent. Recovery in the alcohol industry necessarily waits upon a restoration of the potato production to something like the pre-war standards, as the Government limits the price which alcohol manufacturers may offer for potatoes in the interest of conserving the potato crop for human and animal consumption. This situation necessitates the importation of corn in order to supply the minimum alcohol requirements of the country. Since October, 1919, the alcohol industry has been a State monopoly. The State carefully supervises production and distribution and fixes the selling price.

Owing to the scarcity of food, flour obtained from dried potatoes was freely used in Germany during the war. It is a popular impression that this flour, in the form of a dilutant, still enters into bread consumption, but this is not the case. The once flourishing potato-flour industry has now declined to negligible proportions. The industry started in 1903 with three dryers, and by 1910, 327 factories were operating, consuming annually 400,000 tons of raw potatoes, the output of dried potatoes being 100,000 tons. Three years later the output had risen to 175,000 tons. The war further stimulated production, and the high point was reached in 1917, when 870 drying factories were in operation. In 1919 there were 677 dryers in running order, working up 1,000,000 tons of raw potatoes, with an output of 250,000 tons of dried potatoes. In 1920 the shortage of potatoes and the high cost of coal completely demoralized the industry, and most of the drying plants were closed. Last year the industry was at a standstill, with practically all the dryers idle. The Government discourages the manufacture of potato flour, which, at the present prices of coal and raw potatoes, costs more to manufacture than does wheat or rye flour.

The potato-starch industry, important before the war, is now under government supervision, with the factories running at only 10 per cent. of their capacity.

News from Nature's World

As to the Snow

WHEN the snow comes, the nature reporter has as much to think about as the mere poet, and he considers it all quite as interesting. If Nature makes solids of liquids, she turns them into crystals, and snowflakes, when examined under a magnifying glass, will be seen all to be variations of the six-pointed star. Therefore, in the form in which they finally assume, they take up much more room, than the liquid required. An inch of rain will form ten inches of snow. The one would smother (or drown) vegetation, whereas the other actually keeps it warm, and gives it air, because the crystals can not pack closely. (Incidentally, if the air be dry, even very low temperatures cause very little physical discomfort. George Kennan, the Siberian explorer, says that he has worked in comfort, in dry air, at a temperature of 60 degrees below zero.)

But the snow must remain pure white to retain its warmth. White snow reflects the sunlight in the form in which it receives it. A black cloth, placed on top of a drift, quickly "melts in." Once let the dirt from the road get to the surface of the snow, and the sleighing is soon gone.

Birthday of the Bears

A winter, or early spring, month is likely to mark the birthday of the average North American bear, and an altogether remarkable operation it is. The birth is likely to occur literally during the hibernating sleep of the mother, in a cave, or under a fallen tree. The present writer has seen a huge grizzly bear female appear at the mouth of her den in the New York Zoological Park, bearing a squealing creature hardly larger than a good-sized rat, and entirely hairless and helpless—a cub just born. These are likely to be anxious moments for the men keepers, as the male bear is apt to kill and devour the progeny—a cannibalistic practice of many carnivora—and the adults should be isolated at once, which may be a difficult and delicate operation. A good-sized female black bear may weigh more than four hundred pounds, whereas her entire litter (of four cubs) at birth may weigh no more than a few ounces. Probably the cubs are about six months old

before they are fully weaned, and able to shift for themselves. Curiously enough, the much larger cub of the huge grizzly follows its mother commonly into its second year—perhaps because its birth occurs commonly at a higher altitude, among the mountains.

What is a "Moose Yard"?

A recent American novelist escorts two of his characters into a "moose yard," in a northern forest, where they proceed to settle their personal differences. The inference is inescapable that the writer supposes a "moose yard" to be a more or less well-defined area, trampled down, like a barnyard, in the deep snow. As a matter of fact, a "moose" or "deer" yard is a term applied to the series of more or less rambling and disconnected trails or paths in the deep snow, wherein the animals collect loosely, to get at "browse" (foliage) and twigs, upon which they feed, when the snow lies deeply. These "yards" are often several miles long, and their area may be in very irregular outlines. In fact, sometimes only an expert can determine the precise limits of the yard, which may, indeed, be constantly shifting as the animals move about in a large, loose mass, in search of better feed. Some woodsmen assert that moose "mark" the limits of their "yards," within which they have found good browse, but this seems decidedly dubious.

A Sprite from the North

The northern States (as far south as West Virginia) are likely to have a visit, during the winter months, from the dainty little kinglets (golden-crowned and ruby-crowned), smallest of our birds, excepting only the hummer, and boon companion of the chickadees and the nuthatches. The kinglets come mainly from the Canadian forests, where they keep almost wholly to the spruces. They are mere mites of birds, barely more than four inches long. Both show the upper parts gray, with a faint greenish tinge in strong lights. The distinguishing mark, of course, is the patch of flame-colored feathers, partly concealed on the ruby-crowned, and the yellow patch (edged with black) as the head-dress of the other. The feeding habits of both birds are similar. Both are restless, and the ruby-crowned flits its wings frequently as it

moves rapidly among the branches. The golden-crowned frequently travels alone, and sounds its thin, sharp *see-see-see* frequently. The golden-crowned species lacks the chickadee's trick of clinging upside down to a twig, but he often flutters for a moment in front of a small limb. In the early spring, these feathered mites will return to the north woods, there to breed.

What Game is Worth in Cash

The report to Secretary Wallace, of the Department of Agriculture, submitted by Dr. E. W. Nelson, chief of the Bureau of Biological Survey, contains some rather startling statistics (dated September 14th, 1922), which it seems worth while to reproduce, because they convey a definite idea of the great economic value of the wild life of America. Dr. Nelson explains as follows:

The Biological Survey deals with the conservation and increase of game, fur-bearing animals, and birds, and with the control of bird and animal pests. Recent investigations reveal the fact that in the aggregate wild life resources, capitalized on a basis of 6 per cent annual income, represent an enormous sum, possibly exceeding \$1,000,000,000, and through intelligent management are capable of great increase. On the other hand, certain forms of wild life, as the stock-killing wolves and other predatory species, with many rodents, as the house rat, prairie dog, and others, annually destroy forage crops and other property exceeding \$500,000,000 in value, a loss which may be largely prevented by properly directed efforts. . . .

"Dick" the Methodical Gull!

A most interesting chapter in the remarkable narrative devoted to the habits of the migratory birds, could be written about "Dick," a certain herring gull, which is believed to have returned for *twenty-four consecutive years*, to the neighborhood of the same anchored lightship, where he was fed by the keepers. The story is more or less timely just now because, in late autumn, several species of gulls begin to return from their summer breeding grounds, along the coast of Maine, and from far northern and northwestern localities, to the Atlantic coast (or inland waters), where they pass the winter and early spring months.

The men in charge of the lightship—on the Brenton Reef, near Newport, R. I.—first made friends with "Dick" in 1872, when he learned to feed out of their hands. Probably he was then about a year old, and he visited the lightship for twenty-four years thereafter, indicating that he was at least twenty-five years old, when he was last seen. He outlived all of the men on the lightship who first befriended him, but some of them are said to have been wise and systematic enough to keep an apparently accurate record of the dates of the bird's regular reappearances at the lightship.

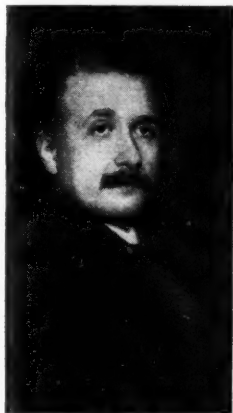
Just where he passed the winters, and presumably brought up his broods each spring, probably nobody ever knew; but his *identity* seemed proved by the fact that upon his arrival in the autumn he at once fed from the hands of the men—and presumably showed other mannerisms or markings which they recognized. At any rate, the records kept by the men showed that he was first seen at the lightship on the following dates in autumn: October 5, 1890; October 12, 1891; September, 28, 1892; October 7, 1893; September 28, 1892; October 7, 1893; October 2, 1894 and October 2, 1895. Singularly regular were the dates of his departures—presumably for his breeding grounds—for he is reported to have been last seen at the lightship on these dates: April 6, 1892; April 7, 1893; April 5, 1894; April 6, 1895 and April 7, 1896. The discrepancies in the dates of arrival suggest some incorrect keeping of records, or faulty typographical composition from the original manuscript, though there might have been climatic reasons, which account for the dates of "Dick's" farewells. His debuts seem to have been remarkably uniform.

The "bird-banding movement," which provides for birds being trapped and marked with metal tags, upon their arrivals at and departures from certain indicated places, during their spring and fall migrations, will tell accurately the remarkable story of their migratory movements. Much precise information of this kind has already been recorded.

THE NEW BOOKS

Biography and Autobiography

Einstein the Searcher. By Alexander Moszkowski. E. P. Dutton and Company. 246 pp.



DR. ALBERT EINSTEIN

Accounts of Dr. Einstein's work and discussions of the theory of relativity with which his name is associated have not been lacking. But in spite of all that has been printed, his personality remains more or less obscure, even to those who are familiar with his writings. Mr. Moszkowski, who is an admirer and companion of Einstein, has taken perhaps the most effective way of revealing the man himself to the great public. Without attempting anything like a formal biography, he simply relates the discussions that he has had with Dr. Einstein on all manner of subjects. The book is most illuminating.

Tramping on Life. By Harry Kemp. Boni and Liveright. 438 pp.

This book is frankly and avowedly autobiographical. Harry Kemp is a young American poet

who has chosen unconventional ways of seeking his literary material. His vagrancy has led him across various strata of modern life, and in this volume he reveals more completely than elsewhere his adventures in riding freight trains, serving time in jail, on the high seas, and in school and college.

Roads of Adventure. By Ralph D. Paine. Houghton Mifflin Company. 452 pp. Ill.

Mr. Paine began his career of adventure by rowing on the Yale crew, continued it as a newspaper correspondent in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, and later resumed it by accompanying our fighting seamen in the Great War. His book of reminiscences has all the interest of a novel, and as an inspiration to American youth, is far more effective than most novels. In his account of his Yale rowing experiences Mr. Paine pays a hearty tribute to "Bob" Cook, the famous coach, who died only a few weeks ago.

George Washington. By William Roscoe Thayer. Houghton Mifflin Company. 274 pp. Ill.

Mr. Thayer is not the first biographer to become convinced that there was a real human figure beneath the crust of myth that persisted for so many decades after the Father of His Country had taken the place assigned to him in the gallery of our national heroes. Mr. Thayer is a practiced student and writer of biography, and his effort to uncover the true George Washington has been to a great degree successful. Yet even his intelligent work can hardly be expected to live down the traditional Washington created by "Parson" Weems.

Topics of International Interest

The Christian Crusade for a Warless World. By Sidney L. Gulick. Macmillan. 197 pp.

In this little book Dr. Gulick does two things: he shows how public opinion, by endorsing and making effective true principles of Christian civilization, may "outlaw" war for all time by building up a positive substitute for it, and, in the second place, he outlines certain definite tasks that lie before us, in keeping international obligations already incurred and thus working toward a warless world. In short, Dr. Gulick has a program.

From Berlin to Bagdad and Babylon. By the Rev. J. A. Zahm. D. Appleton and Co. 528 pp.

Because he is one of the most learned travelers of our time, Dr. Zahm's books are far more than transient records of fleeting impressions. Every country that he visits is viewed from the scholar's eyes. His books on South America are of perma-

nent value for reference, and the same thing may be said of this new volume in which he discourses on Eastern Europe, Greece and Turkey. There are interesting chapters, from the Roman Catholic viewpoint, on "Islam: Past and Present" and "The Churches of the East."

An Indiscreet Chronicle from the Pacific. By Putnam Weale. Dodd, Mead and Company. 310 pp.

This author, whose real name is Bertram Lenox Simpson, has lived practically all his life in China, having for twenty years held official positions of high importance in the Chinese Government. Last year, after visiting Canada, the United States and Europe on a confidential mission for China, he returned to Washington as one of the advisers of the Chinese delegation at the Disarmament Conference. In this volume he discloses many facts in the Far Eastern political situation which have heretofore reposed in secret archives.

The Ideals of France. By Charles Cestre. The Abingdon Press. 325 pp.

One result of Clemenceau's visit has been to set the American people to thinking more intensely than ever before concerning the things that France stands for in the world to-day. One who would

really know what the world owes to France should read these lectures by Professor Cestre which were delivered last year at Wesleyan University. They are reasonable in tone and well calculated to promote a better understanding between the United States and France. They present France as a friend of peace among the nations.

Fresh Treatment of History

A Short History of the Near East. By William Stearns Davis. Macmillan. 408 pp.

Beginning with the founding of Constantinople in the Fourth Century A. D., Professor Davis traces the history of Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe down to the last fighting between the Greeks and the Turks in the summer of 1922. The need of a work of this scope has been brought to our attention many times since the outbreak of the World War. For the understanding of future developments in that part of the world, and especially the outcome of present negotiations regarding the Turkish power, a scholarly treatise of this kind is indispensable. There is probably no better treatment of the subject obtainable by the general reader.

The Party Battles of the Jackson Period. By Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin Company. 506 pp. Ill.

If there have been any dramatic episodes in American political history, the Administration of President Jackson was one of them. In that period much in our political organization which is now taken as a matter of course had its beginnings. Our modern party organization, party conventions, and the so-called "spoils doctrine" in politics, as well as the wide use of the press as a means of party propaganda, all had their origins during the Jackson period. Those times were the more interesting also because of the personalities then dominating our national politics. Besides Jackson himself, there were Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Van Buren, Kendall, Livingston, Benton, Cass and a host of lesser leaders. Their actions and reactions are well described by Mr. Bowers.

The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations. By James Ford Rhodes. Macmillan. 418 pp. Ill.

The quality of Mr. Rhodes' historical writing has been fully tested and never found wanting. For the past thirty years his works have been in our public and private libraries, and have been read and criticized in many instances by the very men who have taken an active part in the events which the historian has related. The last seventy years of American history has been made his peculiar field, and no small part of his writing has concerned itself with his own contemporaries. Such being the case, the fact that the general judgment has been so favorable to him is the more significant. In the present volume Mr. Rhodes is writing about men whom he knew personally, and even intimately. At the same time, the trained historian's sense of perspective gives to each personality its due place in the scene as a whole. In the preparation of this volume the author has had access to the best per-

sonal and official sources of information, and has made wise use of his materials.

The Planters of Colonial Virginia. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 260 pp.

Those modern Virginians who have cherished the belief that their ancestors, the F. F. V.'s, formed from the earliest times an aristocracy of wealth, are in for a season of disillusionment if they read the conclusions of their fellow-Virginian, Mr. Wertenbaker. This gentleman's researches in the original materials of Virginian history go to show that the original settlers of that commonwealth were in the main a body of sturdy and industrious yeomen who were quite as far removed from wealth as were their descendants two centuries later at the close of our Civil War. To prove his thesis Mr. Wertenbaker produces the complete rent rolls of the Virginia counties for the year 1704. As for the rest of us, we shall think no less of the First Families because the legend of their moneyed power has been upset.

The Disruption of Virginia. By James C. McGregor. Macmillan. 328 pp.

Facts not heretofore widely known about the formation of the State of West Virginia are set forth in this volume. Professor McGregor shows that the old Dominion herself was reluctant to leave the Union in 1861, but it does not stop there. He proceeds to show that the people of those counties which later formed the new State of West Virginia were themselves opposed to the division. It has usually been admitted that West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a necessary step in Lincoln's war policy. But in the North, at least, it has been generally supposed that the people of the western counties desired such admission. By the use of new materials this author is able to construct a plausible argument.

The Bozeman Trail. By Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool. With Introduction by General Charles King, U. S. V. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Vol. I: 346 pp. Vol. II: 306 pp. Ill.

Some time ago the authors of this work began an investigation of the Indian fights connected with the overland migrations to the Northwest, in the mid-Nineteenth Century. They interrogated living eye-witnesses of frontier battles, listened to the stories of the Indian fighters of the sixties, looked up original records, read private letters, and compared Government publications with unpublished manuscripts. Information furnished them by Captain James H. Cook placed the Sioux chief, Red

Cloud, in a new light, showing him to have been a keen and successful strategist in battle and a staunch friend in peace. Drawings of army posts and well known points on the trail, made in 1863,

were obtained, and these are reproduced as illustrations. Altogether, these two volumes contain a great amount of heretofore unpublished history concerning the growth of the Northwest.

Art, Criticism, and Miscellany

Shouts and Murmurs. By Alexander Woollcott. The Century Company. 264 pp.

In the present generation of New York dramatic critics no one stands higher than Alexander Woollcott. This book, however, is concerned less with the serious aspects of dramatic criticism than with the personalities of those men and women of the stage and a few of the playwrights whose names have become household words to the playgoers of to-day. He has, for instance, an interesting and informing chapter about Eugene O'Neill. There is also a great store of anecdote and biography such as would be picked up by one who has attended a thousand "first nights" in London, New York and Paris—all in the line of duty.

The Exemplary Theater. By Harley Granville-Barker. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 270 pp.

Mr. Granville-Barker, long known both in London and New York as a producer of plays, has attempted in this volume to sum up his philosophy of the theater and its relation to the public. He discusses at some length "The Educational Basis" and "The Plan of the Theater as School." The interest of the book lies chiefly in the many questions about the theater which it suggests, without attempting a categorical reply. It seems generally the author's aim not to dogmatize but to open up profitable lines of thought on many controverted questions in the field of modern drama.

Continental Stagecraft. By Kenneth MacGowan and Robert Edmond Jones. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 233 pp. Ill.

An excellent interpretation, from the American standpoint, of the new theatrical movement as developed in Europe during the past ten years. The authors, during the spring of 1922, in the course of ten weeks of travel, witnessed sixty productions, some of which had been especially arranged for them. The illustrations show in an elaborate way the features which the authors saw in their tour and which they emphasize in the text.

The Early Italian Painters. By Mrs. C. R. Peers. Boston: Medici Society. 196 pp. Ill.

In the writing of this book two things have been especially held in mind: First, to describe the painters of the early Italian schools, from the point of view of their place in the history of art, and second, to consider their works as indications of the mental attitude of the times which produced them. Many art lovers are likely to find such an approach both agreeable and profitable. The text is illustrated from examples of Italian painters in the National Gallery at London, but many equally pertinent illustrations might have been found in the great American art collections.

Since Cézanne. By Clive Bell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 229 pp. Ill.

Some of the essays gathered in this volume have already appeared on this side of the Atlantic in the pages of the *New Republic*. Others are reprinted from various English periodicals. American readers will find them not only light and easy reading but of real informational value on important phases of modern art development. Much of the confusion that has arisen in the minds of amateurs on beholding the works of the ultra-modern French school of painting is at least explained by Clive Bell's brilliant criticisms.

William Dean Howells: A Critical Study. By Delmar Gross Cooke. E. P. Dutton & Company. 279 pp.

Mr. Howells at the time of his death, less than three years ago, was generally recognized as our foremost man of letters. This book is a scholarly critic's appreciation of Howells as a fiction writer and poet. There are chapters on "The Man," "His Conception of Criticism," "His Ideals of Literature," and "His Literary Method," followed by detailed studies of his works.

Contemporary American Literature. By John Matthews Manly and Edith Rickert. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 188 pp.

The American poets, dramatists, novelists, essayists and other writers dealt with in this little book are indeed "contemporary" in the fullest sense. All writers who died before August, 1914, are excluded, as well as living authors who have produced no work since that date. The beginning of the Great War, then, marks the period covered. Useful bibliographies and study outlines are furnished for each author treated.

Brazilian Literature. By Isaac Goldberg. Alfred A. Knopf. 303 pp.

Apropos of the centennial of Brazil's independence Dr. Goldberg summarizes the history of letters in that great Portuguese-speaking country, and also gives critical estimates of those Brazilian authors who best represent the poetry, the fiction and the criticism of the country. This is the first book of its scope in the English language.

The Queen of Sheba: Her Life and Times. By Phinneas A. Crutch. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 191 pp. Ill.

A volume of satire and irrepressible humor. Several of the chapters narrowly escape becoming parodies of the writings of Margot Asquith and other conspicuous authors of the day. The line drawings by John Held, Junior, embellishing almost every page of the book, are exceedingly clever.

Out-of-Door Books

Tales of Lonely Trails. By Zane Grey. Harper & Brothers. 394 pp. Ill.

Whatever may be the judgment of the critics on Zane Grey's novels, from the literary point of view, no one, so far as we know, has ever denied the essential accuracy of his descriptions of the mountains and plains of our Great Southwest. The new volume by this author is made up not of "fiction stories," but of accounts of real adventure, which according to the adage should be, and in more than one instance actually are, more strange than fiction. The scenes of these narratives are laid in Colorado, Arizona and Southeastern California. To all lovers of the great outdoors, and especially of our Southwestern country, these tales will be most welcome.

Trail Craft. By Claude P. Fordyce. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 202 pp. Ill.

A book of helpful and practical suggestions for all who are taking vacation trips, long or short, at any season of the year, in any part of the country. Dr. Fordyce, the Associate Editor of *Outdoor Life*, has done his share of "hiking," and all that he has to say about the preparations for taking the trail is based on his own experience. There are many pertinent pictures and diagrams.

The Wild Heart. By Emma-Lindsay Squier. With an Introduction by Gene Stratton-Porter. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. 220 pp. Ill.

This book tells how a little boy and girl came in touch with the wild life on the shores of Puget Sound, and gradually made friends of the birds and

animals. Some readers will be sceptical, but the main teaching of this book is that human beings may safely fraternize with the brute creation.

The Book of the Pike. By O. W. Smith. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 197 pp.

This is the first American book to deal exclusively with the pike family. The most famous members of this group are the Great Muskellunge of our northern lakes, but this author does not disdain to give a place even to the despised pickerel in his suggestions to sportsmen. A great deal of information about tackle for all varieties of pike is included in the volume.

Smell, Taste, and Allied Senses in the Vertebrates. By G. H. Parker. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 192 pp. Ill.

The anatomy of the organs of smell and taste, as well as the physiological processes, are here described from the standpoint of experimental biology. This is one of a series of monographs, published under the auspices of Professors Loeb, Morgan and Osterhout.

The New Air World. By Willis Luther Moore. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 326 pp. Ill.

Dr. Moore, who was for eighteen years chief of the United States Weather Bureau, attempts in this volume to simplify the science of meteorology, for the benefit of the general reader. He has avoided the use of technical terms as far as possible, and seeks to familiarize the reader with the fundamentals of weather forecasting.

Sociology

Consumers' Coöperative Societies. By Charles Gide. Alfred A. Knopf. 287 pp.

This book deals chiefly with the practical problems of organization, administration and development of consumers' societies. It is said that the work has already been translated into seven European languages and into Japanese. The author is the foremost living authority on the subject of coöperation. A chapter on "Coöperation in the United States," by Dr. James P. Warbasse, has been incorporated in the American edition.

Steel: The Diary of a Furnace Worker. By Charles Rumford Walker. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 157 pp.

Mr. Walker went to work in the steel mill, not for the sake of learning the technical process of steel making, but to find out how the men who make the steel live and work. Without trying to prove any thesis whatever, Mr. Walker in this account of his experiences gives a picture of working conditions in the industry as he found them. It is a picture from the inside, and is full of intense human interest.

A History of Trade Unionism in the United States. By Selig Perlman. Macmillan. 313 pp.

This volume in the series of "Social Science Textbooks," edited by Professor Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, gives a summary of the "History of Labor in the United States," by John R. Commons and associates, published in two volumes in 1918, and also brings the record of unionism in this country from 1897 down to date.

What We Want and Where We Are. By W. A. Appleton. With a Foreword by Samuel Gompers. George H. Doran Company. 197 pp.

Mr. Appleton, as secretary of the General Federation of British Trade Unions, has had ample opportunity during many years to learn what the workingman is seeking through organization. Mr. Samuel Gompers in a foreword to this little book describes Mr. Appleton as "probably more nearly American than any other leading British trade union official." In the main, Mr. Appleton has long sympathized with the principles advocated by the American Federation of Labor.